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ROTARY AND ITS BROTHERS

*AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
OF THE MEN'S SERVICE CLUB*

BY

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ROTARY AND ITS BROTHERS

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INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of the Study

THE conviction that sociology needs more adequate descriptive analysis and interpretation of the newer forms of social groups which have arisen in our contemporary society led to this study of the men's luncheon service club. A great deal of sociological research concerning the pathological aspects of our urban society has been undertaken. Again, there has been a considerable amount of study made of the impact of the urban environment upon the more basic groups, as the family, the church, the school, and the neighborhood. It has been pointed out repeatedly that interests formerly met through these older forms of associations were being met in new ways through new types of groups. But, since these new groups have not been specially studied, the recent texts on urban society have been able merely to list them and give brief statement of their apparent aims and purposes. In his teaching of the sociology of the city, the writer has felt the need for further studies of this nature and the primary object of this study, therefore, is to make a start toward the fulfilment of this need. The value to sociology of such a study will be greater, however, if it can not only describe the service club but also describe and interpret it in such a way as to serve as a suggestive model for further group studies. This, then, requires the development and application of analytical categories which might be used for other group studies and an indication of means of gathering material for them in sociological terms. The categories used in this study are the writer's adaptation of Professor Theodore Abel's treatment of the subject of group analysis. A systematic presentation of these categories (of group analysis) is set forth in the Appendix (p. 166).

The scheme of analysis develops from the following definition of a social group: a group is a system of relationships and activities uniting a number of people in the pursuit of one or more common interests. Hence, the outline of our description falls into three

main categories: the activities, the system of relationships, and the bond of union. This provides us with the generalized pattern of the local men's service club. Next the variation in this pattern is examined, and changes in the pattern are described.

The second part of the study is devoted to the more difficult task of interpretation. Here the questions dealt with are, why have the clubs of this type arisen and why do they continue to exist? Chapter XI discusses the subject of the relationships of the service club to the community. In the final chapter the future of service clubs and probable changes in their nature are discussed.

The Subject of the Study

The label "service club" has come to have a more or less precise meaning. Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Exchange, Civitan, and Optimist Clubs, as well as many others, are easily identifiable as constituting a generic type. The above listed groups are all federated in a national or international association. Each club is a relatively small, face-to-face, permanently organized group, coming together once a week at a luncheon or dinner in an informal atmosphere. While, as will be pointed out, fellowship is one of their essential interests, the term "service" is accorded them because they profess to serve the community in various ways and because the clubs so label themselves.

It is the local clubs which are our interest, not the international or national federation. The federations are of value only insofar as they promote and stimulate the life of the local clubs. The federations are referred to in this study only to the extent that these references help to explain the life of the local clubs. At the close of the introduction a brief history of the growth of the federations is included.

Method of Study and Sources of Material

The method pursued in this study has been, what might be called for want of a better term, qualitative. There is statistical material utilized, but a purely quantitative approach would not adequately reveal those aspects of group life which constitute the major interest in this study. For example, statistical inquiry will answer for us such questions as where service clubs are located, what the ages

of members are, and what size community is most likely to have a service club within it. But such questions as what are the relationships of the members to each other and to the group, and what holds a club together, can be answered only by obtaining a more intimate conception of the life of actual service clubs. This more intimate view the writer has attempted to obtain by visiting meetings, talking with the members, and, perhaps most important of all, by participating in service club life as a bona fide member for over three years.¹ An evaluation of the adequacy of the generalizations formulated in the study must proceed from the understanding that in regard to the latter types of questions, those dealing with relationships and the bond of union, the writer's knowledge is restricted to a limited area. To procure an intimate view of service clubs throughout the American continent would be indeed a task of years. But considering that in regard to their more external aspects (for example, community activities) these clubs show a high degree of similarity wherever they are found, it is not improbable that their inner aspects are much the same throughout.

Meetings Attended

Aside from his own club, the writer has attended twenty-six regular weekly meetings of twelve different service clubs. He has also attended one annual state convention of Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Exchange.

Information from Members

Before personally interviewing members of service clubs the writer drew up a list of questions to which he wanted answers. These were memorized and put to members. In almost every case the interviewer found the member willing to talk freely and expansively. The interviews were informal. Frequently the man would make points, bearing upon some of the interviewer's questions before they were asked. In this way thirty-seven members were interviewed representing sixteen different clubs. In addition,

¹ The writer joined a service club after he had laid down the preliminary lines of this study, and joined primarily for this reason. This is not to be construed as meaning that this unique interest is the only one which his membership has fulfilled. If he can afford it he would like to continue his membership.

fourteen members sent in answers to the questions. The list of questions is printed in the Appendix (p. 170).

Data on Membership

In order to acquire data on the membership on pertinent points, a blank was prepared calling for age, occupation, length of time resident in community, number of years member of club, religious affiliation and church membership, nativity—foreign or native—and educational level as measured by progress in the American educational system. The data was acquired from the members of each club present at one meeting. In this way, membership data was procured from twenty clubs. The average attendance was about sixty-five per cent.

Club Magazines, etc.

Much significant material was gained from the monthly magazines of Rotary, Lions, and Kiwanis, from pamphlets of the International Federations, from state organs, and from club bulletins.

Federation Headquarters

Some information, as indicated, was obtained from the offices of Rotary and Kiwanis International.

The Big Three

The data presented in this study has been drawn largely from Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs. The membership of these three largest service club federations comprises about eighty per cent of the membership of all service club federations. For brevity they will be referred to throughout the study as The Big Three.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SERVICE CLUB MOVEMENT

The year 1910 marked the beginning of federations of service clubs. It was in August of that year that the sixteen Rotary Clubs in the United States met in convention at Chicago to form the National Association of Rotary Clubs. In the next fifteen years the organization of fifteen or more other national or international service club federations had been accomplished, to say nothing of the hundreds of purely local community luncheon clubs of a similar

type without federation affiliations. By 1931 over nine thousand clubs affiliated with these fifteen federations had been formed with a membership of over 400,000 business and professional men.² Thus it can be stated that by 1931 the service club had become a popular and significant mode of social grouping in the United States.

The following table gives a partial list of federations of service clubs in 1931, indicates whether they are national or international,³ gives the date of the organization of the first club, and lists the number of clubs and their total membership in 1931. The information was furnished the writer by Kiwanis International.

TABLE I
NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS OF
MEN'S SERVICE CLUBS, 1931

	<i>No. Clubs</i>	<i>No. Members</i>
Active, International	21	650
Civitan, International	264	8,500
Cooperative, International, 1912	46	3,000
Cosmopolitan, International, 1920	51	3,000
Exchange, National, 1911	800	40,000
Gyro, International, 1912	75	3,000
Kinsmen, Canada	29	1,300
Kiwanis, International, 1915	1,815	102,500
Lions, International, 1915	2,610	79,414
Optimist, International, 1911	123	7,352
Rotary, International, 1905	3,486*	157,000*
Round Table, International	76	3,146
Torch, International, 1924	38	2,000
Twenty-Thirty	94	2,472
Usadians, International	11	700
Total	9,539	414,034

* Includes Rotary International throughout the World.

It will be seen from the above table that Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Exchange are the four largest federations, together constituting over ninety per cent of the number of clubs, as well as of the total membership. This justifies the concentration of our study upon clubs within these four federations.

² This includes clubs in Canada, and the Rotary Clubs in other parts of the world.

³ International in every case, except Rotary means Canada and the United States.

*Origin**Rotary*

The starting point of the service club movement as a continuous development can be set as February 23, 1905, when the first Rotary Club was founded. The founding of Rotary is described by Rotary International as follows :

The Father of Rotary is an attorney of Chicago, Paul P. Harris, who in the years following his university career, had travelled about the world, making the acquaintance of many peoples and many lands. After returning to the United States he came to Chicago with the intention of practising his profession in that city. Here he met the same fate that awaits many who come as strangers to a densely populated metropolis, for solitude is the average intellectual man's lot who finds himself a stranger in a large city where the chief stimulus to thought in the ordinary mind is money, the getting and the spending thereof, without regard to one's fellowmen. This circumstance gave birth to the idea of founding a club wherein the members might not only become acquainted with one another, but also devise means of proving useful to the community, thereby making themselves at the same time more proficient in service toward their fellow men.

Very shortly after this idea had come to Mr. Harris he explained it to a few friends whom he had made in Chicago. Encouraged by their enthusiasm and their desire to give proof of it, the first meeting of the club was held on the 23rd of February, 1905, in the office of one of the founders of the club. From this time forth the meetings took place regularly, each member acting the part of host in his office in turn. Shortly, however—in fact, within the space of a few weeks—the membership had grown to such proportions that it was found necessary to hold the meetings in hotels and restaurants.⁴

The organization of the second Rotary Club is described from the same source as follows :

A little more than three years after the organization of the first Rotary Club in Chicago, the second club came into existence. At that time Manuel Munez, an American citizen of Spanish ancestry, member of the Rotary Club of Chicago, at the suggestion of Paul Harris carried the "Rotary idea" across the American continent to San Francisco, where in November 1908 the Rotary Club of San Francisco was organized through the inspiration of Munez and the active work

⁴ *Synopsis of Rotary*, pamphlet No. 20, Rotary Int., p. 10.

of Homer Wood, an attorney. Until this event, Rotary had not been thought of as a world movement by the members of the Chicago club.⁵

From November 1908 to August 1910, fourteen other clubs were established, making a total of sixteen clubs which met in convention at Chicago in August 1910, to form a National Association of Rotary Clubs. At its second convention held in Portland, Oregon, in 1911, a "Rotary Platform," embodying the principles of Rotary Clubs, was adopted. The following year at Duluth, the National Association was supplanted by an international association, clubs already having been formed in Canada and Great Britain. By 1915, Rotary had increased to 186 clubs with 19,000 members. In 1920 it included 758 clubs with 54,000 members. In 1929 there were 3,178 clubs, 2,453 of which were in the United States and Canada.

Kiwanis

Kiwanis originated in Detroit, Michigan, in 1915. Kiwanis International describes its origin in the following paragraph:

During the fall of 1914, Allan S. Browne, a fraternal organizer, together with Joseph G. Prance, a business man of Detroit, started to organize a fraternal order. This was not very successful and was abandoned. They then conceived the idea of forming a business men's club, which they did, using the members of the unsuccessful fraternal order as a nucleus around which to build. This was successful from the start and the new club received its charter from the State of Michigan, January 21, 1915. This date is accepted as the official birthday of Kiwanis.⁶

In 1916 representatives of the few Kiwanis clubs then in existence met in Cleveland, formed a preliminary organization, framed a national constitution, and adopted the name "The Kiwanis Club" for the combined clubs. At the annual convention at Denver in 1924 the name Kiwanis International was adopted for the federated clubs. At its first convention in 1917 there were fifty-two clubs with 5,700 members. By 1920 the number of clubs had increased to 267 and the membership to 28,000. Kiwanis reached the peak of its growth in 1929 with 1815 clubs and 112,000 members. Since the depression it has lost some ground.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶ *The Progress and Outlook of Kiwanis International*, p. 3.

Exchange

Exchange attempts to present claims to being the original service club by claiming filial relationship with a Boosters' Club of Detroit which was started in 1896. This claim is set forth by Exchange National as follows:

. . . the patriarch body of the Service Clubs of today, and also the foundation group of the first Exchange Club in the United States, began as far back as the year 1896 with the Old Boosters' Club of Detroit. It was composed of a group of twenty-four men, each representing a different business or profession, meeting frequently in an informal manner for the purpose of enjoying the fellowship of a hospitable luncheon hour.

. . . One of the energetic members of the Old Boosters' Club was Charles A. Berkey, a Detroit wholesale jeweller, who, in the course of time, carried the spirit and principles of this group into the formal organization of the first Exchange Club.⁷

Just how long the Boosters' Club lived is not indicated and the chief claim to filial connection between it and Exchange seems to be largely Mr. Berkey himself. The first Exchange club was established in Detroit on March 27, 1911. Clubs were subsequently organized at Toledo and Cleveland, Ohio, and at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Further growth necessitated a national organization which formed in August 1917 and held its first national convention in Toledo the following month.

Lions

The Lions Club movement originated in a different way and in a different section of the country than the other three federations, as may be seen from the following account of the beginnings of Lionism by their international organization:

At about the time of the beginning of the World War, when the minds of men were turning toward the deeper and more important things of life, the germ which subsequently developed into the International Association of Lions Clubs was first brought into being. To Melvin Jones of Chicago came the inspiration in 1914 when he conceived the idea that the only way in which the business clubs could accomplish anything worthwhile would be through a national or international organization. As a result of this thought he caused letters to

⁷ H. M. Harter, *History of a Great Movement, The National Exchange Club*, p. 11.

be sent to all business luncheon clubs throughout the United States which were not otherwise affiliated, suggesting the advisability of having them get together and form an association through which these clubs could best function. A number of clubs responded favorably, with reservations as to the retention of their own particular names.

The preliminary work of interesting and getting together a satisfactory group of clubs covered a period of three years, during which time a number of clubs were organized under the name of Lions, as well as under other names. In the summer of 1915 there was founded in San Antonio, Texas, the first Lions Club. . . .⁸

The subsequent Lions Clubs were established through the South. In May 1917 the Business Circle of Chicago issued a call to 150 business organizations, inviting their representatives to attend a meeting in Chicago in June 1917. At this meeting the International Association of Lions Clubs came into existence.

Having discussed separately the origin and early beginnings of these four service club federations, their further development can be treated together.

Growth

The growth of these organizations has been phenomenally rapid. As the table below will indicate, by 1930 the big three federations had slightly less than 17,000 clubs with a membership of approximately 300,000. The growth has been constantly cumulative up to 1930, the year which apparently marks a definite arrest of the process of growth. This arrest is due to some extent to the economic depression at this time. It is, however, more than likely that this rapidly continuous growth, at least so far as the United States and Canada are concerned, was bringing the movement to a saturation point. It is to be pointed out later that the service club is a phenomenon of American urbanism. So the future expansion of the service club movement is contingent upon the future expansion of urbanism in the United States and Canada. And the upper limits of urban expansion in America are apparently not far distant. Rotary may expand abroad. The other three organizations have not ventured beyond the oceans or south of the Rio Grande.⁹

⁸ *Lions International Pamphlet: History of Lionism.*

⁹ Very recently Lions Clubs abroad have been organized as follows: 2 in Mexico, 2 in China, 1 in Cuba.

TABLE II
GROWTH OF THE THREE LARGEST FEDERATED ASSOCIATIONS
OF SERVICE CLUBS
(UNITED STATES AND CANADA)

Year	ROTARY		KIWANIS		LIONS	
	No. Clubs	No. Mem.	No. Clubs	No. Mem.	No. Clubs	No. Mem.
1920	677	57,981	267	28,541	113	6,451
1925	1,723	93,800	1,382	94,422	939	43,647
1929	2,353	120,777	1,812	103,308	2,044	74,238
1930	2,414	115,617	1,876	102,713	2,339	79,863
1934	2,580	111,000	1,831	83,698	2,692	77,111

Administrative Sub-Divisions

Three of the four organizations, excepting the Lions, started as a single club, with additional clubs organized one by one without any very conscious effort at first to cultivate expansion. But very early in the history of each federative organization, the growth resulted in the formation of national or international federations. Further growth necessitated the sub-division of the larger federations into districts, comprising either sections or a single state. Kiwanis, for example, began these district organizations at its second national convention in 1918. Following this subdivision, district conventions were inaugurated and fostered a closer bond of union among clubs geographically proximate.

Peculiarities in the Growth of Each Federation

Lions International differs in two outstanding respects from the other three federated associations. First, as to its origin, it has been noted that it did not start with a single club, but with the formation of a national organization from already established local business men's clubs. Secondly, Lions has employed paid organizers for the expansion of its numbers. The writer knows of one community where an attempt was made to organize a Lions Club by the voluntary method employed by the other federations, that is, having one club sponsor another club in a nearby community. The attempt failed. Later, two salaried organizers were sent into the town to organize a club. In this community where a Rotary Club of only twenty-five members had existed for ten years, these super-salesmen signed up forty members for a Lions

Club. Contrary to the Rotary Club in the same community, which started with ten and grew up to twenty-five over a period of years, this commercially organized Lions Club dwindled very quickly to thirty members. High-pressure sales methods apparently can expand a movement more rapidly, but the ground gained is less certain.

Exchange as an association has, unlike the other three, remained a purely national organization. It lays claim to marked distinction among present-day service clubs, therefore, "because of its ideal American qualities."¹⁰ Still further, Exchange states "that one of its further reasons for the restriction of Exchange to the United States is the conviction of its leaders that the principle of democratic government of the organization might be violated by governing the clubs in other countries from outside their borders."¹¹ The claims of Exchange, however, or of any of the other three associations, to distinctiveness are not valid enough in fundamental sociological characteristics, as it will be shown, to cause any difficulty in describing Exchange Clubs along with Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs in terms of a pattern of the service club.

Rotary is the parent organization. It blocked out the pattern and the others imitated it in fundamental characteristics. Chapter VIII discusses the significant variations between these associations. Rotary's chief claim to distinction, aside from its position of priority, is that up to the present it is the truly international service club federation, albeit its internationality is heavily weighted with Americanism. On July 1, 1929, there were 3,178 Rotary Clubs in the world, 2,353 of which were in the United States. Canada had 100 clubs; Great Britain and Ireland 317; leaving 408 clubs scattered over a world area as inclusive as the League of Nations.

Trend of Development

The economic depression beginning in 1929 immediately began to retard the phenomenal growth of service clubs which followed

¹⁰ Harter, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 27.

the World War. The following table will give evidence of the extent of this decline.¹²

TABLE III
NET CHANGE IN MEMBERSHIP OF THE BIG THREE, 1927-1932

YEAR	ROTARY	KIWANIS	LIONS
1927-28	5,807	1,793	7,894
1928-29	7,015	664	13,379
1929-30	—5,160	—595	5,625
1930-31	—444	—6,397	593
1931-32	—7,788	—8,997	—1,253

—Indicates Loss

To what extent this decline in growth is due to the depression and to what extent it may be due to the movement having reached a saturation point is difficult to decide. It is clear that the net loss in membership of Kiwanis during 1930 and 1931 is in part attributable to the straightened financial circumstances of its members. On the other hand, the net gain in membership in Kiwanis International dropped from 5,640 in 1925-1926 to 2,007 in 1926-1927. A slowing-up of the growth is therefore very noticeable well before the stock market collapse of 1929. The further increase of the number of service clubs, as is pointed out in the close of this study (p. 158), depends upon the continual increase of urban-commercial communities.

In concluding this brief account of the club movement, its history might be summarized by division into three parts. The period 1911-1920 may be characterized as the formative period; 1921-1928, as the years of rapid expansion, tending toward the saturation point for the population then living in urban-commercial communities before the depression; the period from 1929 to the present as a plateau period which has been changed into a declining period temporarily by the depression.

¹² Data furnished for Table III by offices of Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions International.

CHAPTER I

THE SERVICE CLUB IN ACTION

IN order to initiate the reader concerning what goes on week by week in the service club meetings, this opening chapter will present four local service clubs whose meetings were attended by the writer for a consecutive period. The description is shortened as we move from one to the other in order to avoid repetition, for it will be shown that the life and activity of the several clubs are very much the same.

The "R" Kiwanis Club

The "R" Kiwanis Club is located in a city of about forty thousand people in the New York metropolitan region. "R" has diversified industries and is the location of a university which constitutes one of the largest business enterprises in the community.

On a Wednesday in the latter part of September, shortly past noon, the small dining room of the second floor of the Paemian Hotel was arranged for a Kiwanis Club luncheon. Two long tables with seats next to the wall side only, topped by one short table at one end, were prepared to accommodate about forty men. The flag of the United States and the banner of Kiwanis draped the walls.

Between 12:10 and 12:15 some thirty men entered the dining room in groups of one to three, greeting each other heartily, calling out first names, and sometimes bantering with one another. Each took the seat still vacant nearest the head table and stood until the president sounded the bell with the gavel for the singing of the first verse of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Sitting down, each wrote his name on the specially prepared slip for keeping attendance records, extracted a dollar from his bill-fold and placed it with the signed slip in front of him for collection. During the soup course, four or five other members came rushing in. Some were greeted with "How's to be on time once in awhile, Tom," or "Doc, don't let them sneak by you." Whereupon "Doc," the Kiwanis

equivalent of a sergeant-at-arms and guard of the entrance, rattled the little box, and each late-comer contributed a dime to the welfare fund of the club. The main course of the luncheon progressed with a great deal of talk, usually with the one on your right or left, with occasional jocular remarks shouted down the table. Officers or committee members held hurried and serious consultations about matters to be brought to the club's attention. At this point John rose to address the president:

"I'd like to call to the attention of the club the fact that I was seriously embarrassed by the failure of several members to show up for our golf match with Lions, as they had agreed last Thursday. So I move that the men failing to show up be fined a quarter apiece."

Amidst cries of "Make it a dollar," and "Where were you, Harry?" the president finally made himself heard and solemnly put the motion. After thunderous "Ayes" followed by loud "Nays" from the guilty members, the motion was declared carried, and again the little box rattles and the Crippled Kiddies Fund grew a little larger. Immediately Joe rose to move that John (the embarrassed arranger of the match) be fined the same amount for "being such a sucker as to depend upon Harry." Amidst much laughter this motion was carried. The president now called for a song. Burt went to the piano and Archie was persuaded to stand up and lead the group in singing "The Bells of St. Mary." Next they sang one of their own club songs:

THE BUILDERS

Verse one

A jolly good bunch of Builders we,
Builders we, builders we,
A merrier lot, you never see,
Never see, never see,
To work and to play and boost affairs,
Boost affairs, boost affairs,
Boost to the sky and no one cares,
No one ever cares.

Chorus

For we are only helping along the way,
Making it just a little easier ev'ry day
To scatter sunshine while we are making hay,
And boost, boost, boost, ev-e-ry builder.

Verse two

There's never a job but what we can do,
We can do, we can do,
No matter how big it seems to you,
Seems to you, seems to you,
It's all in the way we lay the bricks,
Lay the bricks, lay the bricks,
All in the way the mortar sticks,
Goodness! How it sticks.

After a rather half-hearted effort at song, for the "R" Club is not a good singing club, the desserts were brought on.

The president, in order to save time for the speaker, dispatched the "business" while the members consumed the inevitable ice cream—brick form in three flavors. First the secretary read a letter from the Arcady, Texas, Kiwanis Club, asking cooperation of the "R" Club in getting the latest dirigible of the U.S. Navy named after their city. Next came a communication from the local Community Chest, announcing the plans for the coming financial drive in November and asking for the usual hearty cooperation of the club. Then came the drawing for the attendance prize. The president asked Dick and Harry to draw. So while Dick held the slips, Harry prepared to draw amid remarks like "No chance for me today with Dick in on this," "Why don't you pick an honest man once in a while?" First slip, "Tim Bartwell, out." Tim grumbled, "I never won yet." Second slip, "Ferdie Parker, out." And so on until the fifth and lucky name was drawn. Hal, the winner, wanted to know where the prize was. Then it turned out that Bob had forgotten it was his turn to bring the prize. In fact, it turned out that Bob himself was not there. Bob was fined a quarter in absentia and perhaps before Christmas, Hal would get his prize—a fountain pen, a set of cards, or a pair of book ends. By now the coffee was finished. The president was disconcerted to find that there were only twenty minutes left for the speaker. The chairman of the Program Committee introduced the speaker of the day, who was a representative of the National Board of Fire Underwriters. The speaker, trying as he rose to make a quick decision how best to cut a half-hour speech to twenty minutes, started. He finished only a little after the closing time, and sat down during a reason-

ably hearty applause. Tim rose to speak a word of appreciation for the interesting and inspiring talk, and moved a rising vote of thanks to the speaker. The president called for a vote, the members rose and applauded, and quickly the president sounded the gong for adjournment.

Between then and the following Wednesday noon Kiwanis was forgotten by all except the secretary who had to send out notices for the next meeting and the chairman of the Program Committee who had to call up the speaker to make certain he would come.

At the first meeting in October the club heard about "The Five Year Plan in Russia" from an American engineer who had recently returned from the Soviet Union. The members were reminded for the last time that the Annual State Conference of Kiwanis Clubs will be held at Naken, some fifty miles away, on Sunday and Monday of the coming week. An urgent plea for a good attendance from the club was made because, of course, there would be lots of fun and inspiration, and also because there was a good chance for one of their members to be chosen governor of the district if everyone got out and worked for him.

The following week the club met at Heager's Beach as the guests of the County Farmers' Association and was treated to a fine shore dinner—and so it goes.

But perhaps before our narrative goes further we had better find out who these forty men were. They included a jeweler, a banker, a lawyer, a hardware merchant, a manager of the local telephone office, two insurance salesmen, automobile dealers, several school administrators and a handful of men connected with the local college. They were store owners or managers, salesmen, manufacturers, and professional men ranging from thirty to seventy years. Being all middle-class men they are respectable citizens, nearly all family men, and practically all at least moderately successful.

The board of directors met in early November, voted to accept three new members and approved a plan to raise three hundred dollars to provide a fellowship at the University. The plan called for putting on a show in which the club members and their friends were to be in the cast.

The second week in November the Community Chest Financial Drive was on. Most of the club members participated as solicitors. The club held its weekly luncheon with the whole group of Chest workers, listening to the reports of the drive up to date. The club as a group contributed one hundred dollars.

A speech on the World Court featured their next meeting.

Thanksgiving was observed appropriately with a local minister in to give an inspirational address. The new officers were elected, or more truthfully the club ratified the choice of the committee of Past Presidents.

And then came "The Dream of a Clown." Such was the name of the production chosen to raise the scholarship fund. For two weeks the members were really Kiwanis conscious. Men who had never been before the footlights in their lives together with others who had, from other service clubs and the community, rehearsed as many as eight times to put on an altogether amateur performance, amusing particularly those who knew the cast. But they had a good time and raised enough to set up the scholarship with some to spare.

At the Christmas meeting, original poems were supposed to be brought and read. One was brought, a really good one written by one of the two members who could compose such things. The members were assessed a dollar apiece to defray the cost of toys bought and distributed to needy children through the Salvation Army.

The new year was ushered in by "R" Kiwanis with an Installation and Ladies Night. Meeting for dinner in evening dress, with some of their wives present, the club installed its new officers with music, laudatory remarks about the outgoing and incoming presidents, and a speech by the judge of the local juvenile court.

The "P" Kiwanis Club

"P" is a community of about 4,000 population located on the Jersey shore.

The "P" Kiwanis met at 6:30 in the evening for dinner in the Masonic Temple. On a hot summer evening twenty-two of their thirty-seven members were present, coats off to keep cooler. Arriving too late for the opening we came upon them singing lustily

between the cocktail and the soup, led by a quartet more impressive in volume than quality. A "farmerish" looking member seated beside a rather smooth and affluent appearing Jewish member (the only one, I think, of that race in the group) were telling about a big natural water spout near Wingate which yielded gallons of ice cold water daily, most of which was wasted. He felt badly that this power was not being harnessed. Farther down the table came these snatches from other conversation: "Nickel-plated hot dogs, or nickel-plated anything," "If I wanted a job I'd go to Tim here, and he's a Republican (1933)," "We'll have you out in the forest soon" (no doubt referring to the Conservation Corps of the Roosevelt Administration).

The fifth and lucky name for the attendance prize was drawn, followed by loud shouting. As a visiting Kiwanian, the writer was introduced to the club. The president, a refined-looking man of about fifty-five, read a long resolution from another Kiwanis Club in the state. The resolution had been tabled at the state convention, but this club was trying to get other clubs to join with them just the same. The resolution expressed a protest against the gas and electric rates charged by the privately owned corporation having an essential monopoly on this service in the state. It pointed out that the rates had not gone down in any degree relative to the general decline in prices. The "P" Club was not at all interested. One, apparently the humorous member, moved that the resolution be referred to the Boys' Work Committee. Asked if they would like a fish dinner the following week, the club appeared unanimously pleased.

The speaker of the evening was a handsome young minister from a nearby town. Recently he had visited the Holy Land and taken a large number of pictures. He gave a well organized lecture accompanied by the pictures, interspersing his travel talk with appropriate quotations from the Scriptures, opinions about the benevolence of British rule, and indications of the influence of the Higher Criticism. Since the lecture was a little long, the meeting was adjourned without ceremony.

The following week the meeting was opened with fifteen seconds of silent grace, followed by the first verse of "America." As we sat,

the president jocularly remarked: "Some of the boys say that they don't want a fish dinner. They can have chops. Others complain they get small portions. Management says they can have seconds on everything."

Again much singing, for the "P" Club conforms to this rite of the service club at least more faithfully, if not more enthusiastically, than the average club the writer has visited. Small talk about personalities, "How I drive to Florida," luck at golf, etc., filled the gap between the courses. On this night the member drawing the slips for the attendance prize intentionally called the wrong name, and on being "called" by the group, sheepishly corrected his error. The president read the names of those who had birthdays the following week, remarking that July must have been a fertile month.

The speaker this evening was a young naval aviator, an amiable, grinning southerner. He made a few remarks about the history of aviation, starting with "an Italian by the name of DaVinci" and changed abruptly to urge the fathers present to advise their boys to take up aviation.

The meeting was closed with one verse of "The End of a Perfect Day."

The following week, grace was offered by the secretary. The conversation focused on the NRA (August 1, 1933). "X just fired four men. He had been paying a dollar a day in order to get in," "I've been above the code in wages for six months."

Several letters were read from officials in Washington relative to a resolution which the "P" Club had sent to the Federal Government asking for a new post office for their community. In place of a speaker, the club was entertained by a fellow member with "detective riddles." A case was read, the members being expected to follow it carefully. At the end, the reader asked the men to tell "how did the detective know that Plarons was guilty?"

The "N" Rotary Club

The "N" Rotary Club is located in a Northern New England town of about 4,000 population, a small county seat with a number of small industrial concerns. It is an old town which has not grown much in the last few decades. The "N" Rotary Club, at the time

we visited it, was nine years old with a membership of twenty-five. The club met on Thursday noon in a private dining room of the larger of the town's two hotels.

July 3—At the beginning of the meeting, Past President "Y" inducted new President "R" into office with simple felicitations and a promise to help. The new president thanked the club for the honor. Since the singing was not very whole-hearted, the song leader exhorted the group to get out of its slump.

The new president reported that the board of directors had met and were planning a new community project for the club to be revealed in a few weeks. The writer spoke to the club on Education for Marriage, stopping purposely in time to allow questions to be raised for discussion. Only the two questions with which the writer had primed two members were raised. *

July 9—The singing again didn't seem to be going well. The leader, trying to find out who wasn't singing asked one side of the table to sing, then the other. The Judge, sitting on the side which obviously lost, said: "They have the volume, but we have the quality." To the leader's suggestion, "Charlie will play anything you ask," a wisecracker retorted, "We will sing anything he can play." "Apple Pie," "Ham and Eggs" were asked for. Charlie responded to these unexpected requests with improvisations leading up to "Yes, We Have No Bananas." During the dessert course, the following took place: Hal, "I suppose I can eat this pie with my fingers." Jack gave him his fork. Hal, "Just a minute, and I'll give it back to you." Three visiting Rotarians and three guests were introduced.¹

The speaker was the new representative of the "C" Airplane Company, stationed at the local field. He spoke very briefly upon the safety of flying and the opportunity of developing "N" as an air center. He answered questions from the group.

July 16—Three men during the meal started a song, "My Name Is Yon Yonson, I Come from Wisconsin," a song which repeats continually and doesn't end until the rest of the club drowns it down.

¹ During the summer months there is much more visiting due to vacations, especially in clubs of resort regions.

A stunt-singing number was tried, three different groups each singing a different song at the same time.

The speaker was a stage director of Broadway musical shows and the owner of a dancing school in New York. He talked about the show business, especially the part played by directors. He stressed the moral character of stage stars.

July 23—This week the meal was very much interrupted by remarks of the president who tried to get the business of the club out of the way before the speaker's time. This business consisted of the announcement of the next meeting as an outing at "R" pond; announcing the annual state Rotary conclave to be held in the fall; exhortations to members to "make up"² their attendance while on vacations; and a plea for large attendance when the district governor of Rotary visited the club two weeks hence.

The Speaker was Dean Cross of Yale (later governor of Connecticut) who spoke about the growth and organization of Yale University and the research work in pure science.³

The "K" Lions Club

The "K" Lions Club flourished in a city of over three hundred thousand. It was, however, a club of not more than fifty members. On the day of this meeting, only about twenty men were there. They were an unusually bantering group. Jim placed two tiny bottles of liquor, which a friend had asked him to sample, in front of him. These were snatched by another member. Jim exhibited a grin beneath which one detected a feeling of chagrin. One learned that the member across the table was a manufacturer of caskets by several references pointed toward him about "wooden overcoats." Between the courses, the president, starting with the member at the extreme end, called upon each member to rise and give the first (or nick) name and last name and occupation of the member at his right. Jack overlooked one who was sitting back on his right and received a fine of ten cents. The Blind Committee reported concerning a request from the state organization for contributions to

² See p. 71 on "making up."

³ The "N" Club has many of its best programs in the summer months, due to its location in a summer resort section.

assist in the work for the blind on a state basis. The sentiment of the club was in favor of using whatever amounts they had for the blind of their community. A representative from an insurance company had been sent to speak to the club as a part of National Insurance Week. Because there was a regular speaker, he had to talk while the men were consuming a massive steak. The visitors, including the writer, were introduced. The main speaker was a railroad man who, after giving his own general panacea for the "bad business conditions," discussed the situation of the railroads. The burden of his theme was to urge support of that part of the Eastman report which called for regulation of competing types of transportation, motor bus and inland waterways, on the same basis as that on which railroads have been regulated. The club was so impressed with the righteousness of his cause that they were almost ready to pass a resolution to wire their representatives in Congress to that effect, when one member moved that they refer the matter to the appropriate committee rather than act hastily.

In the weeks succeeding the "K" Lions were entertained with an illustrated movie talk by a retired public utility official who had recently made a round-the-world tour, were informed that "inventors are not cracked" by a patent attorney who outlined the development of laws protecting inventors, and were regaled with an all-Scotch program under the direction of one of the "Macs" in their membership, in honor of the 175th anniversary of Robert Burns. (Bagpiper, highland dances, and a talk on the eminent Scotchman were sandwiched into the half-hour. On this day several new members were given badges and the mayor filed application for membership.)

The next week they heard from a representative of the State Legislature that their government was like a "giant in chains forced to pay tribute to political machines." It was announced that Ladies Night was coming in place of the regular luncheon meeting the following week and that an entertainment for blind folks was in the offing.

CHAPTER II

INTRA-CLUB ACTIVITIES

The Weekly Meeting

FROM the accounts of the service club in action, it becomes clear that the focal activity of the service club is the weekly luncheon meeting.¹ Besides being of itself the most important activity, it is from the luncheon meeting that all other activities develop. The weekly meeting provides the continuity to the club's existence. Projects for the welfare of the community may be started, and completed or abandoned, or almost nothing else at all may be done, but regularly, week by week, even through the vacation months, the club meets at noonday or eventide on the same day of the week.

This meeting follows with remarkable regularity a set form of procedure which makes it easy for one who has been to one service club luncheon to identify another. Except for the word Lion heard and seen in place of the word Rotary, it would be difficult for the inexperienced service club visitor to tell the difference, but having attended one service club luncheon, the outsider would never fail to identify another.

The pattern of the meeting includes: the opening always a verse of "America," infrequently followed by grace if there is a minister, deacon, or other appropriate person present to say it; the welcoming of visiting service club members and guests; the transaction of business and making of announcements; the speech (or entertainment); and for the closing, a song, if there is time, and adjournment by the president. Conversation, banter, singing and eating complete the pattern of all service clubs.

This procedure varies within Rotary Clubs; still more it varies when one compares a Rotary meeting with a Lions meeting, but

¹ Some clubs meet in the evening for dinner. This is discussed on page 130.

the variation is less significant than the similarity. A description of the variation in the whole sociological pattern of the service clubs is given in Chapter VIII. There it will be shown that the most important variations are to be explained by differences in size, and differences in the age of club in the particular community, rather than by the more superficial differences denoted by Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Exchange.

The various elements of the meeting outlined above will be referred to again under appropriate headings, but the feature of the meeting, namely the speech or entertainment, calls for further description here.

Program Features—Speakers and Speeches

The service club listens to forty or more speakers in the course of a year on almost as many subjects. (Musicians, magicians, or other entertainment may supplement speakers, while installation of officers, etc., may occupy a few more meetings.) Taking a few samples of the monthly program of specific clubs let us see who the speakers are and what they talk about.

Club 1. (A Kiwanis Club having forty members in a town of 35,000 population. Program for September.)

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Speaker</i>
1. Labor in Present Depression	President of State Fed. of Labor
2. (Meeting devoted to presenting scholarship award to recipient for year)	Members of the Club
3. Shade Trees Commissions	Secretary of State Ass'n of Shade Trees Commission
4. Professional Education for Business Men	A professor of University Extension

Club 2. (Exchange Club in a community of 40,000, having twenty members.)

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Speaker</i>
1. Rabies	A veterinarian
2. Television	Telephone Company official
3. Boys' Reformatory	Superintendent of Reformatory
4. History of Banking	Bank cashier

Club 3. (A large city Rotary Club of several hundred members, month of January 1931.)

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Speaker</i>
1. The Fortune Telling Victim	Lindley Cook
2. How to Listen to Music	Chesley of Utica, N.Y.
3. Truth in Advertising	Business manager of <i>The Sun</i>
4. The Insignificance of Everybody Except Tom, Dick, and Harry	Stunt Day—carried on by members themselves
5. (No topic listed)	Dr. J. B. Palmer, of Davenport, Iowa, spoke

A reading of the above samples of luncheon programs would suggest that the main object was to provide any kind of speaker on whatever subject he might desire to speak. To a large extent this is true of a service club. It is not customary to pay speakers. Local talent is drafted and the occasional presence of authorities or professional speakers in the city for other reasons frequently leads to an invitation to speak to a club.² The heavy demand for service clubs speakers with one or more clubs in so many communities necessarily means that much fat must be mixed with the lean, like the demand for a tri-weekly change in the movies in small city theaters.

However, the arrangement of programs is not completely a haphazard matter. In the enterprising club, programs are arranged for three months to a year in advance with an eye to securing a properly balanced diet. The ideal service club balances the program features in terms of the main stated objects of the International Organization.³

The programs of the club winning the efficiency contest conducted by Kiwanis International for the year 1930 can be classified under the following headings:⁴

Maintenance

Installation, Visit of District Governor, 15th Anniversary of Kiwanis International, 8th Anniversary of Their Own Club, Attendance,

² The writer has been drafted to speak to his home town Rotary Club several times when he was home on vacation.

³ See section on Aims and Objects, pp. 91 ff.

⁴ For this reason the program is not typical.

Kiwanis Ideals, Kiwanis Reflections, Report of International Convention, District Trustees Meeting, Testimonial Dinner.

Public Affairs

State Regional Planning Commission, State One Billion Dollar Planning Commission.

Business and Business Standards

The Radio, Stabilization of Business, the Packing Industry, Associated Press, Empire State Building, Ethics in Business, Business Standards and Ethics.

Child Welfare

One Father and His Community, Visit to Underprivileged Child's Camp, the Problem Child.

Patriotic

The Army Inspection Service, American Legion, Constitution of the United States, Good Citizenship.

International Relations

U.S.-Canadian Relations, Mussolini and the Italian Situation.

The Observance of Patriotic and Holiday Occasions

Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, St. Patrick's Day, Thomas Jefferson, Memorial Day, Flag Day, City Tercentenary Week, Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, Annual Christmas Party.

Miscellaneous

Indian and the Cowboy, Television, Graduation Day and Your Future Vocations (Vocational Service), Department of Agriculture, the Piney Woods Singers, Lecture and Recital, Awarding of Golf Trophies, the Byrd Antarctic Expedition.

Bruce Bliven has written concerning the speeches and speakers as follows:

First, there is the product of the rank novice, the prominent business man, of your own, or some nearby city, who takes a long time (and it seems longer) to deliver a ten-minute speech on "Main Developments in the Cold Storage Industry, 1920-1927," or "The Trust Company: Your Friend, Your Counsellor, Your Guide." This gentleman is usually suffering from an acute case of exhibitionism, with nothing to justify it. He dearly loves to read in public the papers written for him by his

advertising man, who has been careful to work in generous reference to his own company, its resources and facilities.

The other standard type, just as bad, is the "inspirational" address. Even today, after all the ridicule that has been rained upon this weird product, it is still being uttered, day in and day out, North, East, South, and West—especially West. Every member of every club ought to know it by heart—but seemingly he doesn't, for he tolerates its endless reiteration. . . .

It is no answer to my criticism to say that most of this inspirational stuff is true. What if it is? It is also true that the world is round. But that is no reason why men should get together once a week, in a badly ventilated room, bolt down a heavy and indigestible meal, smoke more than is good for them, and hear this ancient truth expounded with fist-wavings and bellowings, for half an hour, if they are lucky, and an hour, if they aren't.⁵

While the present writer agrees that there are enough speeches delivered at service club luncheons of the sorts to fit Mr. Bliven's characterization, he feels that the description of the speech programs presented both in this chapter and Chapter I indicate that Mr. Bliven's description contains the usual amount of journalistic hyperbole.

A member of Kiwanis says that "speakers are chosen from all walks of life." The fact that there are many speakers and a diverse array of stated titles leads to a false illusion of all-roundness which, when sifted out, does not prevail. They listen to Republicans and Democrats, but not to Socialists.⁶ They hear from Fundamentalists and Liberals but not avowed Agnostics, at least not when they speak for Agnosticism. The speakers in the mass can be counted on to bolster up the prevailing sentiments and attitudes of their audience rather than to challenge the convictions of their listener.

The attitude of the members toward the importance of these addresses in service club life varies, but the writer in his interviews with present and past members was impressed strongly with one fact, that in stressing the values of membership very few

⁵ Bruce Bliven, "The Babbit in his Warren," *Forum*, Vol. 80, No. 6 (December 1928), p. 902.

⁶ The writer knows personally of one exception. Within the past few depression years, there have been, no doubt, more "radicals" speaking to these clubs. Typically such an individual is, however, persona non grata.

mentioned the speeches, unless directly asked their opinion. One Lions Club president "doubts the educational value of speeches." His club has a speaker once every two weeks, the alternate meetings being concerned with business. Few men could recall the subjects or speakers for more than a month. On the other hand, three men spoke of the educational value of these speeches as their chief reason for belonging to the club.

The speeches are sometimes followed by discussions. This is not usual, for generally the speaker is allotted half an hour, and very frequently finds only twenty minutes remain.

When the addresses are factual, the discussion is calm. The writer has witnessed, however, a few instances of somewhat acrimonious discussion following a speech on a highly controversial theme, such as the Hitler Government in Germany. In one club an ambitious and intelligent chairman of the Business Ethics Committee tried to arrange open meetings where an important economic question, as unemployment insurance, was to be discussed. His plan was to have a few members prepared to open the discussion. The project was not very successful. Such a discussion requires more time than the thirty minutes, otherwise it merely results in set speeches by members. But there are probably more significant conditions accounting not only for this specific failure, but also for the general lack of educational value of these programs. The service club member comes to the meeting in a mood of relaxation, set to have a good time, and does not care to follow a serious address, or to exert himself intellectually. He much prefers to be amused or entertained. And further, he comes to experience fellowship, and fellowship implies agreement, not argument. Controversial discussion tends to mar the sentiment of good fellowship and is, therefore, to be avoided.

It might very well be asked, if this lack of interest in intellectual activity at the meeting is so clear, why do they have speeches most of the time? The same sort of question might, however, be asked regarding practically any other association. It is partly a matter of convention and habit. But more than that there is the dualism of what ought to be and what really is. The local club and the hier-

archy of the movement wish to convey the impression that the service club is an important organization. Thus to justify their claim to cultural interest, the speeches go on. One Rotarian said that several members of his club stayed away from the meetings when "high brow" speeches were scheduled. The writer, having spoken to this club once on the war problem, inquired whether his speech fell into this category. He was informed that it did.

Special Meetings

In place of the weekly noonday luncheon meeting, the club sometimes holds a special meeting at another time or place. The yearly installation of officers furnishes an occasion for such a change. Devoting a whole evening to a dinner with their wives as guests, the club members install their officers with appropriate ceremony, combined with special entertainment, bridge, dancing, etc. Usually about once a year a Ladies Night Dinner is held where wives and women friends are guests for a meeting with special social features. Joint meetings with other service clubs are held upon appropriate occasions, when some noted man is present to speak, or when some community project calling for cooperative support is about to be launched. In one city, for example, during the week of the Community Chest drive, the clubs met with the workers in the drive at their daily luncheon meeting to report progress.

Conventions are not, strictly speaking, a club activity except on the part of the host club of the district. But whenever the convention city is near enough to permit a majority of the members to attend, the convention is substituted for the regular club meeting. Trying to procure the convention for their own city is an activity frequently engaged in by those clubs whose cities are logical or possible places for a convention.

Meetings are sometimes held with other associations, such as a farmer's organization. Outings in the summer, near a golf course, or at a boys' camp in which the club may be interested, or a picnic with underprivileged boys as guests, may take the place of a regular luncheon meeting.

Freak Meetings

In order to provide an occasional break in the routine of conventional program, clubs occasionally resort to novelty or "freak" meetings. One club, for example, held what was called a surprise meeting. When the members arrived the doors were opened and the wife of each member escorted her husband to a place in the dining hall. Another club conducted its meeting backward, beginning with adjournment and ending with soup and "America." A prize example of "freak" meeting is described in Chapter IV, "How Saugus Met the Depression."

Recreational Activities

In addition to the special outing meeting just noted which involved physical recreation, service clubs may enter teams in a city bowling or golf league, depending upon the interests of the members in these sports.

CHAPTER III

EXTRA-CLUB OR SERVICE ACTIVITIES

THE extra-club activities, those which affect in some way either individuals or the community of which the club is a part, are discussed under three divisions: welfare activities; civic, political and patriotic activities; and activities in aid of business. Before discussing separately each of these divisions, the extent and range of the extra-club or "service" activities of the service club is indicated.

EXTENT AND RANGE OF SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Any classification of the service activities of all service clubs throughout the nation would necessarily require many categories. *The Lion* for the year 1929-1930 lists these activities under the following heads: Civic Improvements, Community Enterprises, Farm Work, Public Safety, Public Welfare Work, Education, Blind Work, Boys Work, Girls Work, Child Welfare Work, and Cooperation with Other Agencies. Kiwanis Activities for 1928 requires forty-two categories to list the 35,000 Service Activities of 1760 clubs.

As bewildering and impressive as these activities appear at first, focusing attention upon the yearly accomplishments of individual clubs gives a more accurate appraisal of their significance.

First are presented three cases which reveal the extent and range of activities which are characteristic or normal. Then the case of a club which won the efficiency cup in an eastern area of Kiwanis International, is given to illustrate the unusually active club. Some clubs fail to report any service activities at all.

Case I:

Established a blind man in business. Cooperated with other local organizations in dedicating city as the "Radio Capital" of the world.

Celebrated club's 10th anniversary with a banquet and program which was attended by representatives of all Lions clubs of the state with International President Earle Hodges giving the principal address of the evening, which was broadcast over Station WCAM. Furnished all "guaranteed blind" men of city with white canes as identification, and to gain assistance for them in crossing streets. Participated in city's "fix-up and paint-up" week. Held joint meeting with Chamber of Commerce.

Case 2 :

Were instrumental in inducing city to station policeman at busy street intersection to direct traffic. Engaged in baseball game with Lions. Put on a moving picture show to raise funds for charitable purposes. Made Christmas Day a happier one for 672 underprivileged children of Keasbey, Fords and Hopelaw, through the donation of toys, candy, ice cream, etc. Arranged and sponsored a second movie show to secure funds to finance club's Christmas cheer activities. Conducted a financial drive for Council of Boy Scouts.

Case 3 :

Staged a Fourth of July celebration for boys of Jamesburg Home. Assisted in defraying funeral expenses of elderly woman. Bought 2,000 safety-first book covers for distribution among school children. Entered float in city's 250th anniversary celebration. Assisted in forming a Community Chest for the city. Sponsored Business Confidence Week. Awarded loving cup to most outstanding citizen. Donated \$100 to Community Chest. Collected over 700 used toys, had same reconditioned and distributed among unfortunate children at Christmas time. Staged a Prosperity Drive. Expended \$100 in purchase of toys, fruit and candy for the 30 inmates of the Children's Industrial Home. Gave \$10 to St. Michael's Orphanage. Launched a campaign to prohibit small boys from selling newspapers on streets after 9:00 p.m. Took all boys of community on tour of inspection through local industrial plants during National Boys' Week.

Case 4 (a club winning a prize in Efficiency Contest of Kiwanis International, 1930) :

A. Underprivileged child

1. 103 undernourished boys recommended by social agencies sent to camp for four weeks at a cost of \$2,300; followed up in home afterward to insure continuance of wholesome hygiene practices, etc., taught at camp.

2. Annual Christmas Party, club having 263 underprivileged boys as guests for dinner, entertainment, useful presents of clothing and a bank book with \$1 deposit (cost \$3,150).
3. Medical and Surgical Assistance. Physicians members performed 77 surgical operations. Physicians sent to 71 families of underprivileged children.
4. All-year emergency relief for 197 families (\$1,000 plus personal services of members).
5. Employment. Positions secured for 60 people.

B. Citizenship

Urged citizens not to evade jury service and volunteered members, and called attention of courts to abuses of jury lists. Promoted Get-out-vote campaign. Proposed to bring back prosperity by each spending \$100. Had addresses on large bond issue pending, neither sponsoring nor opposing. Committee on Public Affairs attended conference on administration of criminal law. Immeasurable citizenship work accomplished by preaching advantages of citizenship when visiting homes of underprivileged children.

C. Public Affairs

Claim credit for bringing pressure to bear on freeholders resulting in establishment of shelter and underground passageways at stations, and for eliminating gambling machines by its committee's investigation. Supported movement for consolidation of eleven communities in county; cooperated with Chamber of Commerce to investigate feasibility of Community Chest in city which report showed not feasible. Cooperated with Safety Council, volunteering to report Traffic Violations particularly during "No Accident" Campaign Week.

D. Vocational Guidance and Placement

Vocational Guidance to graduating classes of local high school by members addressing groups and counseling individuals. Four platform addresses and 37 group conferences.

E. Business Standards

Distributed copies of Kiwanis International Principles of Business Standards among members. Promoted conferences developing "Buy in Jersey City" sentiment. Four meeting addresses on Business Standards. Secured from City Commission agreement and cooperation in plan to eliminate unfair competition of fly-by-night vendors and merchants. Cooperated in celebration of National Television Week.

Miscellaneous

Small donations for worthy purposes; conducted six "Sun-Day" concerts at Jersey City medical center. Endorsed and aided in establishment of new theater devoted solely to motion pictures and entertainment for children; designed to educate as well as entertain.

WELFARE ACTIVITIES

Under this heading are to be described the activities of the service club which resemble either "charity" in the old-fashioned sense of that term or in the more modern term, welfare work, as exemplified by what the American public knows well as social welfare agencies. The fact that the service club engages in such activities suggests the possibility of overlapping with strictly welfare associations. This matter is discussed in Chapter XI.

The welfare activities of service clubs range from one to a number of occasional friendly aids to unfortunate people, to the more pretentious, systematic, and sustained activities of the more active clubs. The smaller end of the range may be illustrated by replies of service club members interviewed, such as "helped crippled child to be operated upon," "furnished milk for undernourished children," "sponsored getting wood for the unemployed (winter 1930-1931), a member furnishing wood," "paid the funeral expenses of an old lady who died penniless." The larger end of the range is illustrated by the activity of a small town club which "organized a crippled children's program which has been carried out faithfully and well. We definitely helped with operation and hospital expenses, and in some cases carried the whole burden."

The Underprivileged Child

The underprivileged child is the one whose need strikes the most responsive chord in the service club members' charitable dispositions. The service club may be induced to do something to aid children, especially boys, more easily than anything else. A Boys' Work Committee is almost as frequently found in the roster of club committees as is a membership committee. Lending a helping hand to Boy Scout troops by assisting in building a camp; or to an understaffed and inadequately equipped neighborhood house by

transporting its basketball teams to other communities, the service club helps to fill in the gaps left by the uncoordinated community enterprises aiming at building better citizens for tomorrow.

A typical example of this interest expressed in less constructive activity may be seen in the following account :

THE "N" CLUB CHRISTMAS PARTY

The "N" Club has adopted an activity which gives great joy to a very large number of underprivileged children at a small cost but with a large amount of personal service. In "N" there are seventeen nurseries and asylums. Just before every holiday, beginning with New Year's Day and continuing right through the year, gifts apropos of the holiday are distributed to the children in these institutions. These gifts now number about 150 for each occasion.

To say that these gifts are appreciated is to put it very, very mildly. Letters from the children by the score and many, many letters from the heads of institutions have come to the club. Letters that tug and pull at the heart strings in no uncertain manner.

The chairman of the U. P. Child Committee and the man responsible for this work is ———, affectionately called Navvy. Navvy makes this contribution to Kiwanis his own personal affair and distributes the entire number of gifts himself, and he is looked upon by the girls and boys as a perpetual Santa Claus.

A snapshot of Navvy accompanies this story. Cheerful, optimistic, helpful, on the far side of sixty he is yet proud and happy in the work he is doing to bring sunshine and joy into the lives and hearts of these boys and girls.¹

A representative account of the more sustained and comprehensive type of welfare activity for the underprivileged is contained in an article entitled "Comprehensive Underprivileged Child Work Program at Baltimore."² The Baltimore club has "found its best and broadest avenue of work to be through association with institutions which were . . . seasoned and strong in the field of accomplishment." In 1922 its first big piece of work was contributing \$4,000 to improve a Fresh Air Farm, a Baltimore community project, to which hundreds of the city's underprivileged boys and girls, babies and their mothers, are invited to vacation annually. The following year "the club took a great interest in the Children's

¹ *The Kiwanis Magazine*, July 1931, p. 317.

² *ibid.*, August 1932, p. 344.

Hospital School, particularly in a campaign to raise \$800,000 for an addition where the children could be taken care of in better shape. That campaign being successful, the Kiwanis Club equipped the research laboratory, which has been named Kiwanis, and has since that time been supporting a doctor doing research work. "The Children's Hospital School," says Dr. William S. Baer, "is under the greatest gratitude to the Kiwanis Club for furnishing both money and inspiration to carry on investigations which have led to the discovery of a cure for osteomyelitis, an inflammation of the bone." Further contributions are noted: one to the Happy Hills Convalescent Home, "an institution to which children are sent by the Social Service, when these children are found to be in need of rejuvenation and rebuilding mentally and morally, whose bodies and minds both have become ill"; another to the Nursery and Childs Hospital, "which institution takes the foundlings and little waifs sent to it from various sources . . . and brings them, or most of them, to the point of adoption or placement in splendid homes." The article concludes by noting the clubs' assistance to The Miracle House of Claiborne, a tubercular institution for children. "The Christmas Party of the Baltimore Club in 1930 carried out the plan of interesting the children of the members of the Kiwanis Club in the Miracle House, resulting in the contribution of a lot of toys and games, which will help this institution materially."

Some of the service club federations develop a "pet" activity for all their clubs. For example, the vocational guidance work of Kiwanis, and Exchange's interest in aviation. Among these favorite activities which fall under the welfare heading, are the efforts of Lions Clubs throughout their international in behalf of blind people.

Lions Clubs' Activities for the Blind

The Lions Clubs throughout America have advertised quite widely their service to blind people. This work has characteristically proceeded along two lines: furnishing white canes to assist blind people in walking through busy traffic; and printing books

in Braille for distribution among the blind. The two accounts which follow indicate the nature of this welfare work.

ALL TRAFFIC OBEYS WAVE OF BLIND MAN'S WAND

Blind persons in Peoria, Illinois, estimated to number eighty-five, have been given a break by the Lions Club which makes life much safer for them. They have been given the right of way across the streets and alleys, except as to emergency vehicles such as ambulances, police patrols and fire apparatus.

The Lions induced the city council to adopt an ordinance, which the mayor signed, providing that whenever a blind person at a street intersection holds up a white cane, pointing the direction in which he wishes to cross, all vehicular traffic shall stop until he is safely over the street. A fine of \$10 to \$100 is the penalty for all who refuse to obey the silent signal.

The Lions have undertaken to furnish white enameled canes to all blind persons in the city.³

THE YEAR NEVER TURNS FOR THESE

The year has turned. The north pole of our earth, turned away from the sun since last June, has reached and passed its nadir, and is swinging once more toward the source of heat and light.

Little by little the days are growing longer, the nights shorter, life is measurably brighter for most of us—but unfortunately not for all. There are among us some for whom the year knows no turning the day no lengthening, and the night no brightening in the east—the blind.

Reminded of the unending darkness in which the blind are doomed to spend all their remaining years on earth, Lions Clubs in many communities have intensified their work of bringing something of joy and mental light into the darkened lives of the helpless. One of the outstanding examples is that of Stephen Girard Lions Club of Philadelphia, which is printing the "Studies in Conduct" books in Braille for free distribution to blind children by the Red Cross. One book is now being transcribed, and the two others will probably be handled very soon.

Other clubs operate clinics for the prevention of blindness in children, supply eyeglasses, establish blind men in business, put on sales of blind-made articles, provide tuition in blind schools, help blind persons to find employment, provide radios and other forms of education and entertainment for the blind, furnish writing boards for the blind,

³ *The Lion*, January 1931, p. 19.

and in general cooperate with established agencies for making the lot of the handicapped less hard.⁴

Conclusions on Welfare Activities

Three significant observations emerge from a description of the welfare activities of the service club. First, it is clear that welfare activities which involve a personal relationship between the members of the club as the donors, and the beneficiaries of their generosity, are embraced with a greater enthusiasm than activities of a less personal character. To assist some elderly lady who the members know is alone in the world and in need; to provide for necessary medical attention to children whose parents cannot afford to pay, drafting their physician member to give his services; to make an annual pilgrimage to a Boy Scout camp to which they have sent some underprivileged boys, are examples of welfare enterprises which bring gladness and a feeling of satisfaction to their altruistic sentiments.

Secondly, these welfare activities as a rule are not sustained or systematic. Meeting separate instances of need upon the part of some unfortunate individuals is more typical than sustained sponsorship for a project year by year. Change, however, in this respect is manifest in the direction of more of the latter type of activity. A member of a service club expressed himself enthusiastically upon the club's establishment of a scholarship fund not simply because it was a worthwhile project but because it gave at least one definite annual objective for the club.

Thirdly, the club members conceive of welfare work as a problem of individuals rather than a problem of society. The widow Smith is hungry; the service club provides her with food. The fundamental causes of dependency growing out, at least in part, from a faulty social organization concern them little. Bill is a fine, smart lad who ought to go to college; the service club pays part of the bill. The fundamental inconsistency of a society which accepts the principle of equal educational opportunity, and yet permits economic inequality to operate as a barrier to the effective expression of the democratic principle, never occurs to them. Their wel-

⁴ *The Lion*, January 1931, p. 19.

fare activities, then, are all based on the acceptance of the status quo in our economic and political system. The possibility that the individual cases of distress which they help to alleviate are an outgrowth of social conditions which might be changed does not greatly challenge the service club members.

CIVIC, POLITICAL, AND PATRIOTIC ACTIVITIES

The service club rarely enters politics. It is a rule that partisan issues and candidates shall not be given a forum at the club. One reason for this is, apparently, that the membership is composed of members of the two major parties, and the injection of party politics would introduce conflict into a group which is otherwise very happily likeminded. The service club may, for example, "protest effectively against the abolition of the fifty-cent cab fare," or act to secure from a city government "the erection of shelter stands at municipal stations," "permit the discussion of the merits and demerits of a proposed bond issue," or "advocate the appointment of a commission," but there its political activity ends.

Pressure is constantly brought to bear upon the service club to lend its support to matters of a political nature. All the service clubs in one community in the course of three months were asked to pass two resolutions. One was a resolution petitioning the senators of the state to vote for the entrance of the United States into the World Court. The clubs as a whole did not pass such resolutions on the grounds that the issue involved partisan politics, although opportunity was given for a petition to be circulated for individual signatures. The other resolution was prompted by a drastic slash in the budget of an important branch of extension work of the state university located in the community, proposed by the governor as an economy measure. In this case all four service clubs passed resolutions and forwarded them to the governor protesting against this proposed action. It will be seen that this issue, while it was partisan in some respects, affected the general welfare of the particular community. Hence the unanimity of opinion and active participation in a semi-political measure. The reticence of the service club to express a group opinion on any side of a local political question is criticized by Bruce Bliven as follows:

One may concede that with a membership of both Republicans and Democrats (and an occasional very lone Socialist) they are wise not to go in for partisan politics. But on important questions involving the welfare of city, state, or nation, it seems to me regrettable that these clubs should make so little effort to arrive at an informed, intelligent opinion and give it public utterance. . . .

Because of this situation, the clubs very often actually stand in the way of the municipal progress of their cities. . . . While they fuss about with little projects for a better lighted Main Street, or getting their town made a stopping point for the Overland Limited, they leave untouched many other things of far greater importance—decent housing for the poor, for instance; or a city plan not operated for the exclusive benefit of the land grabbers; or hospitalization for the middle class . . . to name at random just a few of the things most of the clubs are too timid, or too ignorant, to touch. Few important civic reforms or developments can ever be made without treading on somebody's toes, and the clubs never do that—particularly, as I have suggested—if the toes belong to some of the local demigods, who are probably members.⁵

Good citizenship, however, as expressed by voting, performing jury service, and "Americanizing" aliens, is something about which all respectable business men, Republican and Democratic alike, may all agree.

Casting one's vote is a mark of good citizenship. Hence, we find the Committee on Public Affairs in a Kiwanis Club promoting a "Get Out the Vote" campaign in a primary contest. The meeting room was decorated with the names of the candidates.

Americanization of aliens is obviously an important patriotic and civic duty. Here, for example, we find the Fort Wayne Lions holding a banquet which transforms aliens into citizens.

Four hundred Lions and guests, including 45 members of a class in Americanism which the Fort Wayne Lions Club has just prepared for citizenship, heard one of the most inspiring addresses International President Earle W. Hodges has ever delivered. The occasion was the annual citizenship-naturalization banquet of the Fort Wayne Lions, held at the Catholic Center. . . .

A striking patriotic setting was given the banquet. The date was the birthday of Washington, and the military note was dominant. The tables were decorated with flags. Cadets from Concordia College were

⁵ *The Lion*, January 1931, p. 901.

ushers. Military music was by the American Legion Drum and Bugle Corps, and by the American Legion Band. The singing was by the vested boys' choir, trained and led by Lion Fred C. Church, and of course community singing by the Lions themselves. . . .⁶

The described banquet was the culmination of the Lions' previous efforts to train these prospective citizens for citizenship, for later in the article we read:

We established classes in government, and in the last nine years we have instructed more than 800 people, and have helped that number get their citizenship papers. Then we have welcomed them, at a public ceremony, as fellow citizens.

Jury service is considered a mark of good citizenship. The service clubs report activity in encouraging jury service among the better citizens, setting an example by offering their own services.

Obedience to law is another mark of good citizenship. The service club probes to the root of this great problem and finds that "gangster" movies are distorting the civic attitudes of the youth in our cities. In the area of service clubs studied at close range, a great number of resolutions protesting against gangster movies were passed.

The celebration of national holidays and the birthdays of national heroes with programs appropriate to the occasion constitute the most characteristic patriotic activity of the service club. A frequent activity is to entertain G.A.R. veterans on Memorial Day, and other military and ex-service men on appropriate patriotic occasions. Examples of other patriotic activities are: presenting silk American flag to a public school, participating in historical pageants, presenting trophy cups for C.M.T.C.

Referring to the cases presented to indicate the extent and range of the "service" activities of the service club one notes that the two general classifications of activities just described, together with activities relating to business which are to be described in the following chapter, do not cover the whole field of service clubs activities in the community. This threefold classification does cover, however, a wide enough range to give a fair picture of the activities. As an example of an important type of activity sponsored

⁶ *The Lion*, April 1931, p. 12.

extensively by the clubs in one of the three federations which is not included in this threefold division, the educational work of Kiwanis Clubs may be cited.

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF KIWANIS CLUBS

These activities were made the special subject of investigation by W. D. Addison.⁷ A partial list of their activities in this connection are as follows: Awards to encourage scholarship, citizenship, etc.; assistance to high school activities—athletic, music, etc.; educational toys; furnishing speakers for schools; providing hot milk, and other health activities; providing student financial aid; vocational guidance and placement; assisting schools to secure financial support; promoting and maintaining new courses and new services; and inspectorial and fact-finding activities.

Two of the most important activities of a club which the writer studied at close range were in the field of educational cooperation. One was the establishment of a scholarship fund to be awarded to a deserving student in the community for a nearby university. The funds were raised by two methods: the contribution of \$5 by each member upon his birthday, and the presentation of a show. The other activity was the Vocational Guidance Conference. In cooperation with the guidance department of the school system, a meeting was held in a school building to which the boy pupils in the schools were invited. First they were assembled to hear a brief talk on about twenty different occupations given by men in the community actively engaged in these occupations, some of whom were Kiwanians and others who were not. Following this, group meetings were held for each of the occupations where the boys were given an opportunity to ask questions concerning its opportunities, its qualifications, and the training involved. A similar meeting was held for girls on another night. The dean of girls of the high school in that city considered these conferences as useful aids to the vocational guidance program of the school.

⁷ W. D. Addison, *The Educational Activities of Kiwanis International*, University of Chicago Masters' Dissertations, August 1929.

CHAPTER IV

EXTRA-CLUB OR SERVICE ACTIVITIES (Concluded)

SERVICE TO BUSINESS

IN discussing the activities relating to business, certain characteristics of service clubs need to be noted. The membership being selected as it is, one or two from each line of business, no group interest except that of the owning class as a whole can prevail.¹ Activities in aid of business may well lead to conflict within the group more than welfare activities. Furthermore, in many of the cities having service clubs, chambers of commerce are present with this definite function. Service club members hear a great many propositions for aiding and developing business, but as a club they are less likely to act in regard to them.

The activities which service clubs do in the interest of business may be classified under the headings of Booster or Improvement Activities, and Activities Relative to Business Standards. In addition, the presence of a business depression at the time the material for this study was being gathered affords interesting examples of service clubs at work on the greatest challenge business men have faced in American history.

AIDS TO BUSINESS

Turning to *Kiwanis Activities* for the year 1928, we find activities aiding business listed under the heading of Cooperation with Chambers of Commerce. Under the heading "Improvements of a General Nature" the first five activities including five different clubs scattered as widely as South Carolina, Minnesota, New York, Alabama, and Ohio, are as follows:

1. Advertised the city at a Montreal convention, resulting in having a number of families move to our city.

¹ This owning class consciousness is one of the most significant things about the service club, as is indicated at many points in this study.

2. Sponsored a series of sales lectures on business efficiency.
3. Assisted in securing a permit from the State Public Service Committee for the operation of a new bus line.
4. A merchants' institute and an industrial exposition were attended by 6,000 people and a sum of \$90,000 realized for underprivileged child work.
5. With the assistance of business men, established a curb market.

Under the heading "Securing New Businesses, Industries and Buildings" again the first five entries covering clubs in a wide geographic area are:

1. The club was responsible for securing a shirt factory employing some 300 women.
2. Brought together all civic organizations to plan preparations for securing a milk and cheese plant. A series of trade days for residents were held.
3. Investigated a number of industrial propositions which may mean new industries for the city.
4. Cooperated in financing a tobacco demonstration to improve the quality and production in this territory. A Georgia products meeting dinner was sponsored.
5. Our work is to secure a new Post Office Building.²

This section of Kiwanis activities closed with entries under the headings: Fairs, Expositions and Entertainments; New Hotels; Aviation.

BUSINESS STANDARDS—ETHICS

The Big Three federations have as one of their stated general purposes³ the improvement of the ethical standards of business. Yet when one tries, as the writer has done, to see what influence the service club has upon business standards, it becomes difficult to measure this influence in concrete terms. The discussion of this aspect of the service club activities deals with two questions. What

² Claims may be exaggerated, as were the claims of all four clubs in one community for prime credit in inaugurating the community chest.

³ See section on Written Aims and Objects, p. 92.

does the club do? And what is the definition of ethical business practices in the minds of service club members?

Rotary International has promoted among its member clubs the activity of developing codes of ethics within the various business establishments represented by their members. In a pamphlet published in 1930, entitled *Codes of Standards of Correct Practices*, with the sub-title, "Information for Those Desiring to Encourage and Foster High Ethical Standards in Business and Professions," there are sixty pages describing the evolution of thinking on this question by Rotary International which finally culminated in the adoption in 1924 of a model Code of Standards of Correct Practice intended as an inclusive outline which should be applied in concrete terms to each particular business.

The framework of this code covers the following five business relationships:

1. Relationships between employer and employee.
2. The craftman's relationship with his fellow craftsmen.
3. The craftman's relationship with those from whom he makes purchases.
4. The craftman's relationship with the general public and the government.
5. The craftman's relationship with his patrons and prospective customers.

Having then envolved what they feel is an adequate pattern of a code, Rotary International has urged local clubs to advertise it to their members and urge them to work for its adoption in their own craft (or occupational) associations.

Rotary International claims⁴ that 140 trade associations have reported that they have adopted written codes largely as the result of the efforts of Rotarian members in their rank. Non-Rotarians have substantiated Rotary's claims concerning their influence on business ethics. In the *International Journal of Ethics* (October 1924), an article, "Codes of Ethics for Business and Commercial Organizations," by Mr. W. Brooke Graves, states: "The work of promotion of codes of standards of correct practice is now carried

⁴ *Codes of Standards of Correct Practice*, pp. 59-62.

on largely by Rotary International." In commenting on poor and good codes, Mr. Graves makes this statement: "One answer to this question is to be found in the model codes worked out scientifically by Rotary International to cover every business relationship of the business or professional men with the community in which he lives." In *The Book of Business Standards*, by J. George Frederick (Nicholas L. Brown, 1925) Mr. Frederick states: "The International Rotary Club must be given great share of the credit in developing codes and standards. . . . Credit is due the International Association of Rotary Clubs for its deep interest and fruitful activity in regard to codes of ethics and standards. One of the tenets of this great organization is the betterment of the member's craft."

In the week-by-week activities of the local Rotary Club, or other service clubs, however, this outstanding objective of elevating the ethics of the store and office does not loom as importantly. Few of the particular club members interviewed could point to any specific contribution to business ethics which they could attribute either to their local club or to the federation. Their activities in this direction are largely confined to listening to an occasional speech on the subject.

A large majority of the service club members interviewed were even puzzled to suggest what constituted ethics in business. One question always asked by the writer was, "What changes in business practices have you noted in any fellow member?" Very few could cite any instances. Several men suggested that changes in this regard were not to be expected because the club was very careful to choose members who had already established a reputation for business integrity and fairness. The men interviewed who showed some interest in this question were pushed further and asked to indicate what they would consider as examples of unethical business practice.

A barber member of a small town Rotary Club, pointing to a varicolored assortment of hair tonics, said: "There's something I learned in Rotary. Not to sell people something that's no good."

A chairman of the Vocational Service Committee of a small town Rotary Club said his club discussed such questions as "Is it

fair to try and take a competitor's help away from him? Is price-cutting ethical?" This man did not claim any discernible results from such discussion.

The following accounts of business behavior were the only detailed answers the writer was able to secure from service club members to the question, "What changes in business practices have you noted in any members of the club as a result of the service club emphasis upon better business practices?"

Mr. F arose at club meeting and responded to the topic: "What Rotary means to me."

K, a fellow member of Rotary, had been doing business with a competitor of F's. F did not think he should try to get K's business away from his competitor just because they were fellow Rotarians. But the competitor died. Then F called up K and solicited the business.

The following story was told the author by a past district governor of Rotary:

In a certain town there were two stores competing with one another. The owner of one was in Rotary; the other was not. The store of the non-Rotarian burned down. The Rotarian called up his unfortunate competitor the following day, expressing his sorrow at the hard luck which had come his way, and volunteered to loan him goods or money if he wanted to open up in temporary quarters. The non-Rotarian was surprised, but he accepted the kind Rotarian's offer and thus was able to resume business right away.

The case presented below, told the writer by the same authority as the previous case, illustrates a friendly, thoughtful business relationship between two members of the same club.

Bill had a secretary whom he could not raise in salary but wanted to help find a better position. Ted, a fellow service club member, could employ her at a larger salary. It was agreed to make the change. But just at the time the shift was to be made, Bill's new secretary failed to report. Ted was called by Bill who asked if he might keep the girl a week longer. Ted obligingly agreed but then called back on Wednesday to ask if Bill could spare her. Bill said that was only fair and agreed to let her go.

The president of a small city club suggested "Charging bonuses on mortgages, and cutting prices" as unethical.

A Kiwanis member cited an example of what he considered unethical business practice from a recent speech he had heard on

advertising. A man who became nationally known as a result of his efforts in a rescue at sea had given a testimonial in behalf of a widely advertised cigarette. The speaker had offered the hero one of these cigarettes and received the reply, "I don't smoke cigarettes at all."

In the attitudes regarding business ethics here expressed it is obvious that among the relationships suggested by the Ideal Rotary Code, the relationships to one's competitor (price cutting), to the customer (honest representation of goods), and to the public (advertising), are the things which come more immediately to the service club member's mind. Most conspicuous for its absence is the question of the relationship of employer to employee.

The following articles were provided the writer by Rotary International in response to a request for concrete examples of the influence of Rotary upon business standards or ethics. They are reprinted in full because each involves a different business relationship; the first refers to the relationship between competitors, the second considers the relationship of the business man to his customers, and the third the relationship of employer to employee.

Relationship between Competitors

The following story told by Dr. Charles Barker of the Rotary Club of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is a good illustration of the application of service in business.

In a Western Pennsylvania Rotary city the president of the club, after I had been introduced to one of the members, said: "I want to tell you what that man did about a week ago. His competitor in this city was in financial difficulties. These two men for years have been the two leading business men in their particular lines in that city of about twenty-five thousand population.

"This competitor, who is not a member of any service club, and the Rotarian had long been enemies on account of their being competitors. This fellow endorsed the notes of two or three men who had failed and that brought on him the necessity of meeting those obligations which amounted to something like twenty-eight or twenty-nine thousand dollars, and in meeting those obligations at the bank, which he would have to do, he was faced with the fact that he would have to go into bankruptcy on the following week. This Rotarian, without conference with anybody else, and after giving the matter some thought, went over to the competitor's home one night and rang his bell.

"The competitor himself came to the door. They had been bitter enemies, as I said, for years. The moment the man saw who was there he said: 'Well, what the devil do you want? Do I owe you anything? What are you coming here for?'

"Of course a lot of us would have said: 'Well, good night,' and would have walked home, but this Rotarian had caught the spirit of Rotary. He said: 'I want to come in and talk to you a few minutes. I understand you are in trouble financially.'

" 'Yes, I am, but what is it to you? ' "

"That was not such an atmosphere as to encourage a man to do the generous thing, but our Rotarian friend stuck by the guns and said: 'I didn't come here to commiserate you or show you pity or sympathy or anything of that kind. I happen to belong to an organization that is called Rotary, and when I became a member of that organization, I practically took an oath that I would carry out in my business dealings, with my fellow-men, the principles laid down in the Golden Rule. Now I know the conditions you are in through no fault, apparently, of your own, and I know that if I had endorsed the notes of some of my friends and they had not been able to meet them and because of that fact I had to face this situation and settle at the bank, and it was going to put me into bankruptcy, I would be glad if somebody else would come to me and help me through.

" 'You and I have never been friends, but at the same time we are fellow human beings in business here and I want to just say to you that I can't do anything else if I am going to belong to this organization which I belong to than offer to back you for any amount that you need to keep you out of bankruptcy and to see you through, and you pay me whenever it is possible for you to pay me back.'

"I checked up on that story by going into the competitor's place of business and I asked him personally if he would tell me the facts, and with tears streaming down his face (it was a year and a half after it occurred) he said: 'My whole life has been saved by the action of that competitor of mine and that man has converted me; I am a Christian today because of that man's action, and if that is what Rotary means, if that is what Rotarians do, I could ask nothing better than at some time I be found worthy to be taken into some Rotary organization.' "

Practically speaking, that is what the Golden Rule means in our code of ethics, that you put yourself in the place of the other fellow that needs help, and give it to him. If he can't do that, let him get out of Rotary because he has no right to stand for the ethics of Rotary unless he is willing to work it out in his dealings with his fellow-men.

This is indeed a noteworthy example of personal altruistic behavior on the part of one man to another, but it has nothing what-

soever to do with business ethics. What would be of more concern would be examples of rules or practices of fair competition actually lived up to by Rotarians out of a sense of loyalty to Rotary ideals.

Prices and Profits⁵

You have heard that I am a manufacturer, and I believe whether you are a manufacturer, a retailer, or jobber, you should have the same price to everyone to whom you sell no matter how much they buy from you. Because if you don't, your salesmen are going to spend too much time sparring around with the fellow they are trying to sell and won't have enough time to sell him on the stuff they want him to buy. That is involved, but maybe you get it.

Now then, profit. I think you should have a definite, fixed profit and that profit should be set by putting yourself in the position of the buyer, figuring out how much you would like the seller to make on the particular order you have to place and then, when you have made up your mind what that percentage is, apply it to your own goods.

While it is legally honest, I don't believe it is morally honest for a man to buy something for \$1 and then sell it for \$2. He is within the law, but it is not right. We are doing business too much within the law and not enough within our own good morals.

Now that we have profits and prices all settled, I am coming to the thing I really want to talk to you about, and that is profit sharing. There are three classes that are interested in this profit sharing. The first are the stockholders in your company. The second are the employees, and the third are your customers. Don't forget the last one.

I don't have to argue with you that your stockholders are entitled to a profit on the money they have invested. You agree to that so we will pass it.

The next are the employees. They are working for salaries and wages, but they are also entitled to a share of your prosperity.

Third are your customers. I said a while ago, "One price for all." I am going to show you how in this third group, of customers, we, in our own particular business, take care of giving some of it back to those who buy the most and make us the most profits.

In getting back to the question of price, there is no question but what you have to pay for your material, your labor and overhead, and when you cut the price, there is only one place you get it from, and that is out of your profits. Now, isn't it foolish to give it back, or never collect it in the first place, or never to have collected it before you give it back?

⁵ Rotarian Cornelius D. Garretson, Wilmington, Delaware.

Here is the way we do it: of the profit, ten per cent on our capital is deducted. That is for the stockholders. Of the profit remaining, twenty-five per cent goes for profit sharing with employees. Then, of the profit remaining, twenty-five per cent goes to profit sharing with customers. This profit is shared with customers in the proportion that the net profit on each customer is to the total net profits of the company.

Here is how we decide it with the customers: we certify to each one of them, at the end of the year, how much net profit we have made on their business with us during the year, to overcome this idea of the customer's that you are making a lot of money on his business. He sees how much you are making and usually revises his idea.

Furthermore, it shows to these customers, and to these men who are working for you, the mutuality of the interest between the manufacturer, the employees of the manufacturer, and the seller, and each one of these three groups knows exactly how much each of the other two groups is getting back in profit.

Of course, my competitors have called me some names which I don't want to put on record, for this foolish, silly thing. But when I tell you that fifteen years ago we were the smallest in production in our world; and when I tell you that we absolutely do set the prices, regardless of our competitors and the objections which our competitors have are that our prices are too low, and that today we are the largest in our particular business in the world, maybe you will agree with me. And when I tell you that ten per cent of the net on our sales means about 40 per cent on our capital, I don't think that you will think I am as big a fool as my competitors say I am.

The reason they say I am is this: we simply first made that ten per cent before the war, then we made it during the war, and we have made it since the war. During the war, when it was only a question of "When can you deliver?" our prices were thirty, forty, and forty-five per cent lower than our competitors', and every year I saw from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000 lying right there for me to take and I didn't do it. Not because I am so darn honest, don't get that idea, but because it wasn't good business as I saw it. If any of you fellows want a thrill, just go day after day past a million dollars and don't put your hands into it. Try it.

Here we have a very limited application of the idea developed so much more widely in Europe by consumers' cooperatives. It is indeed unusual for an American business enterprise to consider the employee and consumer at all. But to consider them after a ten per cent dividend or dividend surplus for stockholders has first been

assured can hardly be considered unduly magnanimous. One wonders what happened to this scheme in 1929-1934.

Handling the Relationship between Employer and Employee⁶

I have been asked to give some of my personal experiences with my employees. This is a subject I very seldom discuss except with those who are absolutely friendly to me, because it is a subject, to my mind, about which there can be so much disagreement.

However, I am quite willing to tell some of my experiences, because all I have done I have practically learned in the United States or in Great Britain.

I shall begin by telling a story. In 1919 I was sent across by my government to attend the International Labor Conference, the first one, in Washington. Just before starting we had some trouble in our works. We employ about 700, and I had the feeling that I really had been a good employer. Somehow we disagreed and the night before I sailed, we sat up until 12 o'clock and came to an agreement, but, as employers, we lost on every side, and I felt very bitter about it.

Coming across to this side, I met a very good friend of mine and he introduced me to a good friend of his, and I told him my story. While I was in the middle of it he suddenly stopped me. He said: "Look here, I am going to ask you a question. Don't think, but just answer right away. Do you really like your men?"

And do you know, I couldn't answer that question right away. If he had asked me if I loved my wife or children, I would have said yes without thinking. But when he put that question up to me, and I couldn't answer it, I knew that there was something wrong with me. I should like to ask you, any of you, to go and sit down in a quiet corner and ask yourself that question and see what the answer is.

His answer to me was: "Go home and like them and see the difference."

I went home, and I have not only tried to like them, but I can say safely now that if that question were to be put to me again there would be an answer right away. I do like them because I have learned to know them, and I have learned to appreciate what an employee is up against in a big factory.

One of the results of this talk was the starting of shop committees. These shop committees are not selected by me, but are elected freely by the workers themselves. Anyone who is familiar with the ways of workers knows that they never elect the persons whom you would like to have on a shop committee. They are always electing those whom

⁶ Rotarian J. Anton Verkade, Amsterdam, Holland.

you do not want at all, or at least those whom you think you do not want.

But you can derive any amount of advantageous information from these men, because they are the chaps who go to the meetings of the Socialists and are taught there on the platform, and if you listen to them carefully and understand what they are talking about, you can learn a jolly good deal from them.

One of my good friends told me that if you wanted to know something about the worker you should go and be a Socialist yourself and learn exactly what they meant and what they were talking about so that when they were talking you might understand them because their language, after all, is different from your own. You have to repeat the thing to them, and you have to bring it home very carefully before they understand. I find the shop committee more and more useful, because they give you pointers in all different ways, how to work and in what way you should conduct your business.

For instance, in these shop committee meetings quite a number of questions come to the foreground. For instance: "What is capital?" "How do you look at it?" "We have been going to meetings and they told us this and they told us that." Then they said: "What is your answer?" I can assure you in quite a few cases I was able to enlighten them in proper fashion.

I will give you an instance. They were talking about depreciation, and I asked plainly: "Boys, what have they told you that depreciation is?" They said: "Depreciation is a certain amount of money which you have kept away in your safe to have in case business goes wrong, when you can fork it out and put it in your own pocket."

I said: "I will tell you something. Here are the keys to my safe that is in the office. You are at liberty to go through it. I will tell you the exact amount of depreciation and if you can find that much money in there, we will divide it."

Of course, they begin to inquire. And that is always what they should do. We should bring the discussions to the point where they will inquire. I tell them, "Many of your fellows have been here quite a number of years. Do you remember where this stock stood? Well, it isn't here now. It's been rebuilt. Look at that building over there? Do you remember how that looked? See how it looks now? All of the old stuff is on the scrap heap."

Then they begin to think, if that money had all been left in the safe, if I had to take all new money to do this sort of thing, what would have happened then? And it comes to them that they would have had to work for it. After all, the capital is giving service and we have to pay on that capital. So, am I not a worker too? Haven't I got to earn the

dividend on that capital? And I know that if in one of their meetings someone gets up and tells them a different story, they will get up, one after the other, and tell that party it is not true.

There are other things. I do not believe in fathering or mothering my men. It is no use whatever. If possible, let them find things out for themselves and let them do their own job.

I will give you an instance. We have a widow fund that we started in this way: The men pay two per cent of their wages into it. I pay one-half plus a certain amount each year to provide for those in the business for a long time. We have a committee which comes together regularly so as to be able to judge who should get a pension. Do you see the advantage of this?

The first time that we were together they said, "We have saved one year and we have so much together. What is the money for?" They said, "We can lower our two per cent to one-half per cent."

But, then the question was brought home to them, "That is all very well, but supposing that tomorrow we close our factory? There would not be a two per cent which you would be paying out of your wages. Neither would I pay my one-half per cent. What would you have the widow do? Would you have her pay out regularly?"

The result was that they understood that it was necessary to build up that fund so as to supply those widows that were to come even if the business were shut down and to give them their pension. At that same moment they understood why a business should have a reserve so as to carry it over the difficult times which are sure to come in every business.

I have found in the last fifteen years, men, that if you only go to your employees and give them your full confidence, and tell them really, truthfully, how matters are, you will have no trouble with them at all. I know that if any of you would come over and would go through my plant (I would give you the right to do so), I wouldn't go with you, but you would not find a man there who isn't doing his job properly and with the greatest of pleasure.

Here we have a most naïve answer to the problem of employer-employee relationships. The regulation of relationships in the economic associations of the large scale characteristic of contemporary society must be based upon concrete principles of justice rather than through reliance upon the willingness of an occasional employer to "learn to know his men and like them." And even that is a physical impossibility in many instances. The formation of shop committees whose advice and suggestions may or may not be taken

goes an extremely small way in equalizing the bargaining power of employees and employers.

Conclusions on the Service Club and Business Ethics

Typically, service club members feel that their club is a force in the community elevating the ethical level of business enterprise. They cannot, however, except in rare instances such as those cited, point to any concrete instances where such an influence has been felt. The proportion of energy and time devoted to this field of activity is small. In fact even serious reflection upon the matter of ethics in business is an exceptional instance in the life of the typical service club.

Still further, the examples furnished by Rotary International suggesting unusual instances of the Rotary spirit in business show the limitations of the service club in this field as our comments indicated. The solutions worked out there to business relationships all depend upon the will of the employing class, and leave the consumer and employee dependent upon his benevolent good intentions. On the whole, the greatest emphasis is placed upon the relationship of competitor to competitor. This is obviously the relationship in which conflict mars most seriously fraternal spirit among business managers and owners which service clubs aim to foster. In the relationship of employer to employee, the most liberal statement the writer has discovered from the lips of a service club man, is the advocacy of workers becoming participants in profits by becoming stockholders.⁷ That the worker is entitled to share in the good fortune of business not by virtue of his labor, but only as he may be able to purchase an occasional share of stock in his company, is the net conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Leonard's speech.

Finally, in fairness to Rotary it should be pointed out that Rotary International, of the three larger service club federations studied, has at least given more serious consideration to this aim or

⁷ Speech by J. Paul Leonard of New York City Kiwanis Club to Wilmington, Delaware, Kiwanis Club. Reported in *Wilmington Every Evening*, February 4, 1931.

objective, and furnished the writer the most satisfactory evidence of the fruits of such interest.

THE SERVICE CLUB AND "THE DEPRESSION"

In the winter of 1930, the full force of the business depression following the stock market crash in the fall of 1929 presented a challenge in two directions. First, there was the immediate problem of relief of the large number of unemployed men and their needy families. Second, there was the larger challenge of business reorganization in order to turn industry and commerce toward the upward trend. As might be expected, service clubs as groups of business men were concerned about this situation. There follow some examples of how service clubs attempted to deal with this situation.

Relief Activities

The Toronto Lions

This club set up a city-wide organization, enlisting the support of key men in each block of the city, who in turn sold the idea to all their neighbors. The idea was to get twenty persons in each block who would pay seventy-five cents a week. This would put one man per block on a permanent salary. The unemployed person selected distributes his time among the contributors.⁸

CLUBS NEED A PRESIDENT LIKE THIS ONE

Here is how a live Lion president can bring order out of chaos, prosperity out of poverty. He is E. J. Wilson, president of the Lions Club of Iowa Park, Texas.

First he led his club in collecting \$2,000 for the Community Chest. Then he set about administering it.

The streets needed gravelling. He went to gravel-pit owners and got them to donate the gravel. He made arrangements for teams for their feed. He then placed a charge of \$10 per 50 feet for 8-inch graveling, payable monthly.

Needy families were allowed to work one man a week for every four members in the family at \$1.50 per day in groceries, etc. They are paid in orders only.

He has made money on each section gravelled; has done away with floaters; has supplied all the needy, and is gravelling every street in

⁸ *The Lion*, April 1932, p. 109.

town, saving \$15 per 50 feet. He has made arrangements for a free show for these people and their families once a week.

Fifteen men work a week at a time and lay off a week, and fifteen more are put to work. They have about thirty-three on the list.

If a floater starts trouble, saying he wouldn't work for \$1.50 a day, he is arrested for vagrancy and works for nothing.

This plan can be worked out along other lines and employ lots of people who will work, but are too proud to accept ordinary charity.⁹

This particular example of relief activity, cited with pride by Lions, reveals very naïvely the mental set of service club men toward employer-employee relationships. Through this Lion's efforts, the property holders of his community got something they needed at less than a fair labor cost. Further, the right of a laborer to refuse to work at an unfair price was abrogated with the connivance of the local authorities.

Activities to Promote Business Recovery

The Lions' Hot Dollar Campaign

This activity is described because a similar activity was promoted by clubs in other organizations and seems to fairly typify the activities of the service clubs in aiding business recovery.

BUSINESS CONFIDENCE WEEK PROVES GREAT BOON

Business Confidence Week, put on by Lions International all over the United States and Canada on October 19 to 25, is having more far-reaching effects than any other one thing the association has ever done. The words "is having" are used advisedly, for the movement, powerful from the beginning, is still going forward, and mail to International continues to carry stories of the tremendous impetus the Lions have given to business everywhere.

Of necessity only a comparatively few of the hundreds upon hundreds of letters, telegrams, newspaper pages and reports can be used, or even mentioned in the narrow limits of *The Lion*. And only a few of the reports were accompanied by photographs, so that illustrations will be inadequate. But a glimpse can be given of the mighty effect of this one field of endeavor of Lions International.

Little Rock, Arkansas, showed the country "some going" when it started on its round what the Lions called their "Hot Dollar." A one dollar bill, carefully mounted so that its movements could be checked,

⁹ *ibid.*, February 1931, p. 18.

was paid out by Lion President Will Terry of the Little Rock Club. After six days it found its way back to President Will and bore a record of payment of \$357 for merchandise.

Lion Terry reports that for the first time in history the city's Community Chest fund went above its quota—\$44,500—and he ascribes that to the influence of the Lions and their business confidence campaign in newspapers, public meetings, the radio and person-to-person effort.

Special interest attaches to the Little Rock program, because International President Earle W. Hodges happened to be there that week, and with Governor Harvey Parnell of Arkansas, the mayors of Little Rock and North Little Rock, Arkansas, Lion District Governor Roy A. Adams, and President Terry of the local Lions Club, headed a parade which swept the town off its feet. In the evening the International president broadcast an address on "Business Confidence."¹⁰

The Jersey City Kiwanians reported a proposed plan to bring back prosperity by having each member and other citizens spend \$100 each at once.¹¹

The Rice Lake, Wisconsin, Club contributed to business recovery by placing a large billboard at the entrance to the town upon which were printed the words "Buy Normally—Steady Buying Steadies Business."

One service club apparently having lost its faith in God and President Hoover decided to adopt imitative magic and wish away the depression.

NOTORIOUS CHARACTER IS GONE FROM SAUGUS—BY IKE COWAN

Arriving at the wake and funeral of "OLD MAID DEPRESSION" at Saugus, Massachusetts, we sat down to dinner wearing top hats and black napkins. After a sumptuous dinner we enjoyed T.D. clay pipes until the pall bearers, garbed in comic apparel, carried the deceased in a gray casket into the room and placed it on the bier (not beer), which was covered with a grave rug of green.

The undertaker, Attorney Lawrence Davis, placed the flowers (brought from the cemetery) around and upon the casket. The mourners sat at the head of the casket and did a splendid job of weeping. After the minister, the Rev. Arthur W. Putnam, gave the eulogy, interrupted of course by the mourners, we all passed by the casket and read on a printed slip, passed to us as we stood in line:

¹⁰ *The Lion*, December 1930, p. 97.

¹¹ *The Kiwanis Magazine*, September 1931.

"Good-by DEPRESSION, no more bread lines," and 34 other phrases. The quartet sang a song and we all joined in the chorus, as follows:

"Old Maid Depression, last night she died;
Ring the bell, for all is well,
She's on the other side.

Old Maid Depression, last night she died;
Ring the bell, she's gone to—well,
She's on the other side."

As the undertaker was about to adjust the lid his attention was attracted to the corpse (a wax figure)—in great surprise he called for a Doctor. The Doctor examined the body with a stethoscope and asked for the surgeon, who, in hospital array, entered, and after using the stethoscope pronounced life.

The surgeon performed a caesarean operation, and after the usual maneuvers by the doctor (with a large talking doll) the baby squealed and "Prosperity" was born. The casket was then lowered in the grave, after which a flashlight picture was taken of the assembly and the party broke up by singing the "Star Spangled Banner."¹²

In appraising the activities of service clubs in the face of this challenge to their optimistic faith in the manifest destiny of rugged individualism, one fact which is made clear later in our study has to be kept in mind, namely, that the outstanding captains of industry are not service club members. And it is these captains of industry, together with state and national governments, who can make the moves which will aid business recovery. So far as the activities above listed go, they express an imitation of the responses which are characteristic of the propertied class from which service club members come. Namely, try anything but a redistribution of the national income allocating to the lower income classes a larger proportion. It was to be expected, after knowing what the service club does by way of welfare work, that it would make spasmodic responses to the relief of the needy during the depression of the type described in this section.

Against this résumé of how the service club affects American business can be placed the somewhat extravagant statement of one of Rotary's own interpreters.

¹² *The Lion*, April 1931, p. 23.

Business to fulfil its destiny as a social force must have a philosophy, a moral or spiritual basis for its existence. . . . Rotary is furnishing business with a philosophy that will enable it to appeal to and hold the interest of those who want to do something worth while.¹⁸

And again the same writer says:

Today business rules the world. To the plea for help from the wreckage of war, it is the business man that is called upon both for diagnosis and treatment. . . . The great nations of today are those that have, in the main, been governed by men of business close enough to the desk and counter to sense the importance of financial faith and to realize that civilization rests on economic laws.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON ALL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Having presented a representative sample of the "service" activities of the service club under the three categories of Welfare Activities, Civic and Patriotic Activities, and Activities in Relation to Business, certain general conclusions concerning them all may be drawn. It must be borne in mind that such conclusions are drawn as typical. Individual club variations have already been pointed out, as well as variations among the four federations. First, it is noted that while the service activities ostensibly for the benefit of others beside the club and its members, massed in terms of a whole district or nation of clubs, present an impressive array, the number of such activities in the individual, typical club does not involve an unduly heavy sacrifice of time or money. Secondly, it is clear that the welfare activities are the projects which take the most energy and involve the largest financial assessment upon the members. On the whole, these are the activities to which service clubs point with the greatest pride and joy. Thirdly, activities in aid of business are frequent but consume little time and energy, and often require cooperation of other service clubs or organizations in the community, as the chamber of commerce. It may be said that the influence of the service club in promoting better business standards or ethics is relatively negligible.

¹⁸ F. N. Lamb, *Rotary: A Business Man's Interpretation*, Hoquiam, Washington, Rotary Club, p. 75.

CHAPTER V

THE SERVICE CLUB MEMBERSHIP

THE relationship of service club members to each other and to their club, which is the subject of Chapter VI, can be better understood if one knows how the members are selected and what types of individuals the process of selection obtains. An answer to these questions helps particularly in understanding the high degree of similarity of attitudes toward social questions which characterizes these groups.

THE PROCESS OF SELECTION OF MEMBERS

The process of selection of members can be discussed under two headings: the principle of selection; and the practice of selection.

The Principle of Selection

Rotary, as the first of the service clubs, was founded upon an unique basis of selection. Its constitution provides that the active membership of each Rotary Club shall consist of but one man in each classification of business or profession and each member's classification of business shall be that of his principal and recognized occupation. Rotary further stipulates that the representative must be an owner, executive officer, or manager of some concern in the classification he represents, or must be a professional man.

While Kiwanis and Lions Clubs permit two members from the same occupation, the occupational classification and rank within the occupation of Rotary is also their basis of selection. So the selective process of Rotary may be described as typical of the service club.

Practice of Selection

While the principle of selection is as stated above, the practice of selection, as with most organized groups, falls short in varying

degrees from the principle. Some of the reasons for this fact must be made clear.

First, mutually exclusive classification of business and commercial occupations is well-nigh impossible to make. Two frequent difficulties constantly arise. Is the owner of a garage in the business of selling cars, repairing cars, or selling auto accessories? Is the owner of a meat and grocery store to be classified as in the retail meat business or the retail grocery business? Again, sometimes a lawyer is also an insurance agent. The other difficulty grows out of the fact that within each occupation specialization is constantly going on. Medicine, for example, gives us surgeons, heart specialists, and child specialists. And even surgery itself can be subdivided. The secretariats of the Internationals have met this problem by preparing a chart of classifications to serve as a guide to the local clubs. (See Appendix, p. 171.)

Secondly, the practice of selection falls short of the principle because clubs themselves are willing to sacrifice the official basis of selection to local exigencies. Consequently there is a good deal of "juggling" of classifications to permit some desirable members to come in even if their classification is filled.¹ Some statements by members interviewed reveal a consciousness of this "juggling."

"Juggling of classifications is frequent. An example is dividing the medical profession." (Rotary member.)

"When our club wants a man, it juggles its classification to get him. If it wants to keep a man out it finds the classification filled." (Lion member.)

"Our club [Rotary] has three woolen manufacturers, but each manufactures a different type of goods which makes them non-competing."

A discrepancy then exists in the principle set down by the national organization and the practice of the clubs. Social considerations and friendships between members of the club and men outside whom they wish to admit play their part.

For complete understanding of the composition of the membership it is necessary, however, to know more than the principle and

¹ It is also possible to utilize the classification scheme as an easy way to keep someone out, although the writer does not know of any such instances.

practice of selection. It is necessary to see how this process indirectly affects the personnel of the club in regard to other factors influencing the degree of "like-mindedness." Differences in regard to such factors as age, nationality origin, religion, and educational status inevitably affect the character and extent of the relationships between the members.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE MEMBERSHIP

Data concerning the composition of the membership was collected from eight Rotary Clubs, seven Kiwanis Clubs, and six Lions Clubs. Most of these clubs were in the State of New Jersey. Three were from the same city in Virginia, and one from New Hampshire. From these twenty-one clubs 421 membership blanks were filled out. Discrepancies in totals with reference to various data are due to the fact that some items were left blank.

Age

TABLE IV
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS

Age Groups	Rotary		Kiwanis		Lions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
21-30	11	7	17	10	14	14	42	10
31-40	31	20	49	30	31	31	111	26
41-50	68	43	51	32	32	32	151	36
51-60	25	15	31	19	20	20	76	18
Over 60	24	15	14	9	3	3	41	10
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	159	100	162	100	100	100	421	100

While there is no age qualification for membership, the requirement that the man shall be in an executive position, or a professional man, limits decidedly the number under thirty.² On the other hand, the requirement of active participation tends to eliminate men beyond sixty or sixty-five unless the club places them on the honorary retired list. The ordinary range might be put at twenty-eight to sixty-three. This broad range has significance relative to the first name norm referred to below (see p. 80). This sample would indicate an older range for Rotary, slightly

² The organization of a service club especially for younger men, the Twenty-Three Club, further bears out this point. (See p. 108.)

younger for Kiwanis, and for Lions still younger. In the section on variation in the pattern, an explanation of this difference is offered in terms of the order of establishment of clubs in the community (see p. 105).

Nationality

Table V indicates the relative proportion of native and foreign born, and also the nativity of parents.

TABLE V
PLACE OF NATIVITY OF MEMBERS AND THEIR PARENTS

	<i>Rotary</i>	<i>Kiwanis</i>	<i>Lions</i>
* Native Born	144	151	94
Foreign Born	16	15	5
Parents Native Born	241	335	146
Parents Foreign Born	81	83	52

This indicates, as would be expected, that a very large proportion of the members are native born, and that two-thirds are native born of native parents. The writer has no evidence of any discrimination against a candidate for membership on the grounds of his foreign birth, or his parents' foreign birth. The foreign born citizen who has arrived at a position in business life which would qualify him for service club membership is no doubt sufficiently Americanized to be socially acceptable for a luncheon companion.

Religion

Table VI indicates the relative proportion of Protestants, Catholics, Jews. Members were asked to indicate their religious affiliation, and then separately whether they were members of a church. The object here was to discover Protestant or Jewish cultural background even if some of them were not actually church members.

TABLE VI
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

<i>Rel. Affiliation</i>	<i>Rotary</i>	<i>Kiwanis</i>	<i>Lions</i>	<i>Total</i>
Protestant	128	133	58	319
Catholic	19	15	24*	68*
Jewish	8	6	5	19
None	3	5	5	13

* One club had ten Catholics and no Protestants, hence is decidedly atypical.

Church membership was indicated by 357 while 58 were not church members.

The data in Table VI indicate that while service clubs are to a very large degree Protestant, being a Catholic or a Jew is no arbitrary bar to membership. Other things being equal, the clubs will more likely fill their occupational classifications with Protestants.

Occupation

The principle of selection operates, as it is supposed to do, to secure business men of managerial rank and professional men. From the occupational data secured, the following groups were tabulated:

TABLE VII	
CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS OF SAMPLE MEMBERS	
Business	234
Manufacturing	38
Professional	117
Public Officials	13
Agriculture	7
Employee	5*
Retired or Unemployed	7

* This represents the best interpretation of the statement of their occupations that could be made. Either the club let these men in contrary to regulations, or they failed to state their occupation clearly enough.

The sample includes three clubs from one college community where several representatives from the faculty are to be found in each club. For this reason, the proportion of professional men may be higher than would be the case in a larger sample.

Competitors

Because the presence of business competitors in a club would affect the relationships between the members, as much data as it has been possible to secure on this matter are presented here.

Rotary chooses only one from each business or profession, although actually, as has been shown, some Rotary clubs do have more than one representative from a particular business. Lions and Kiwanis are allowed two representatives from each type of business. The men were asked to indicate their occupations. To find

two physicians listed in a club is not proof that they are direct competitors. To find two chemists listed does not indicate at all that they are competitors. One Lions Club has two laundry owners, two dentists, and two insurance men, out of the twenty-four members who filled out blanks. Out of twenty-three men in a Kiwanis Club two were in real estate and insurance, and two others listed just real estate; two were lawyers; two, chemists; and two, clergymen. Out of 265 Kiwanians and Lions listed, sixty men had one or two (in one case three) fellow members who were in the same occupations. This number would be reduced to fifty-four if chemists, public accountants, clergymen, and musicians were eliminated. The data in Table VII would indicate that not more than twenty-five per cent of the members of Kiwanis and Lions have to adjust themselves to the presence of fellow competitors in their service club life.

Educational Status

The men were asked to check the extent of their educational career as grade school, high school, or college, with a place to put other types of schools. Of the 418 men answering this item, ninety-one had been to grade school only, 188 had been to high school, and 139 had been to college. This indicates that the service club member is most generally a high school graduate, but it also shows that the range in formal educational status of the membership is quite wide. This range is characteristic of each club's membership. Every club indicates some college and high school graduates, and only two clubs failed to show at least one member who had never gone beyond grade school.

Summary on Composition of Membership

The data returned on these membership blanks point to the following generalized statement of the membership of the typical service club. About half its members are engaged in commerce or trade, a quarter are professional men, about ten per cent are manufacturers, and the rest are public officials, farmers, or retired. They range in age from twenty-eight to sixty-two. There are about seventy-five per cent Protestants, twenty per cent Catholics, one or

two Jewish members per club, and one or two who disclaim any religious affiliation. Nine-tenths of them are native born, with a small proportion of these only one generation removed from Europe. In formal education about half have passed through high school; of the other half there are a larger proportion of college graduates than of those who have been limited to grade schools.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROCESS OF SELECTION

It is readily seen that this process of selection is a highly restrictive plan of recruiting members. The advantages of such a selective process are stated by Rotary International as follows:

ADVANTAGES OF LIMITED-MEMBERSHIP PLAN

1. Representative and Efficient Membership.—Such a plan is representative of the community and at the same time it is impossible for the membership to become so large and unwieldy as to make difficult the promotion of acquaintance and intimate friendship among members.

2. Ideal Forum for Discussion.—A club composed of one member representing each business or profession becomes an ideal forum for the consideration and discussion of public questions and all matters pertaining to the public and to the various trades and professions.

3. Concerted Action Easy.—United action by the club is much easier than with a large cumbersome membership.

4. Clique Rule Made Difficult.—No one profession or allied professions can become numerically strong enough in the club to dominate it.

5. Provides Avenue for Removal of Dead Timber.—This plan provides a basis upon which to establish and maintain the membership so that the club can insist on regular attendance and active participation or the surrender of membership to someone else in the same line of business.

6. Individual Member Benefited.—The business and professional man is given a more sympathetic understanding of other businesses and professions, thus lifting him out of the narrow rut of his own business routine and giving him suggestions and information obtainable in no other way.*

If an examination of these alleged values of the limited membership plan is made from the viewpoint of group analysis, the following results of this general principle of selection appear as significant. First, limiting the size by the scheme of occupational

* *Synopsis of Rotary*, p. 12.

classification provides a face to face group, a group where the relationships are personal and direct. Secondly, the fifth value given above is accurately stated; namely, that this scheme provides a way to remove inactive members. The president of a small Kiwanis Club said five members were deleted in years 1932-1933 for non-attendance. The relative vitality of service clubs is in no small measure attributable to this kind of selective process. The turnover in service club membership is relatively high.⁴ As it will be indicated when the privileges and obligations of membership are discussed, an entirely inactive member of a service club is rare.

Thirdly, and most significant, this scheme of selection provides for a very "like-minded" group. The service club, in its claim "to be an ideal forum for discussion" and to be "representative of the community" is apparently operating under an illusion. This illusion of representativeness is evidenced in service club literature. Lamb, for example, writes as follows:

Classification [of membership] is both a guarantee and a protection. A guarantee that a club will be varied in its makeup and measurably representative of the business interests of its community. A protection that the club can never become the expression of a group or a class. . . . Comprising in its membership representatives of all that are engaged in certain capacities in various fields of profitable endeavor, it is without the class consciousness, the self-centered interests, and the dangers of the purely business craft or professional organization.⁵

Again, the following editorial from *The Lion* reveals a naïve misconception of the bases of class attitudes:

To those who are not Lions, one of the amazing things about Lionism is the harmony that reigns in an organization made up of men of all shades of opinion. That harmony is a matter of pride to Lions. Every club has in its membership men of all political parties, all shades of opinion, all of the important religious beliefs, and they get along with never a clash.⁶

⁴ One of the Big Three federations sent the writer the actual number of its additions and deletions in membership for an eight-year period which showed a turnover of about twenty per cent each year. The other two of the Big Three sent the writer only their own estimate of an annual turnover of eight to ten per cent in their membership.

⁵ *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁶ April 1931, p. 18.

The most distinguishing feature of the service club is its principle of selection by means of which are brought together men from the executive, managerial class. The result is to procure a group of men remarkably similar in their attitudes toward public problems. The differences in shades of opinion represented by a real estate dealer, the owner of a dry goods store, the socially-inclined physician and the superintendent of a shoe factory are negligible. John may be a Republican, Frank a Democrat, Fred a Presbyterian and Henry a Catholic, but all may join the hymn of praise for individualistic business enterprise, express a common sympathy for the underprivileged by benevolent welfare work, abhor Communists and pass resolutions condemning law breakers. The Socialist, the avowed atheist, the scholar, the bohemian, the captain of industry are without their fold.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONSHIPS

RELATIONSHIP OF MEMBER TO GROUP

THE analysis of the relationships in a group requires an examination of the relationship of the member to the group, its character, extent, and intensity; and the relationship of member to member, in the same respects.

The character of the relationship of the service club member to his group is one of equality in status and similarity in function. There are no degrees of membership except, perhaps, the associate member of Rotary¹ and honorary members. Each member has the same privileges and each assumes the same obligations. There are, of course, officials who, during their term of office, exercise directing functions. But the traditional American idea of rotation of office applies to the presidency and vice-presidency which are held by different members each year. Equality in status is possible because the principle of selection which has been described results in securing members among whom social distances are slight.

The character of the relationship can be stated as one of similarity with respect to functions. A partial exception might be suggested by the elaborate array of committees which the organization of the club presents. But the functions of these committees (so far as they function at all) are, largely, to plan rather than to execute. Most activity is a whole club activity.

The extent of the relationship of the member to the group is delimited by certain privileges and obligations, which may be listed

¹ This class of membership is called by Rotary International Additional Active Membership. To quote Rotary International's pamphlet on Membership in Rotary, p. 22: "Any member may recommend for additional active membership a fellow executive of his concern (if he is otherwise qualified). . . . If elected the additional active member . . . has the same rights and privileges in every way as the original active member." The chief purpose of this type of membership is to attract younger men and new life into the club.

under a single heading, since, in a certain sense, they are the same thing. It is an obligation to serve on a committee, but this requirement, if the member is an ideal member, will be a privilege. Actually, what are privileges to some individual members are obligations to another. These privileges and obligations in the service club are four: to attend the meetings with a high degree of regularity; to pay dues and other financial assessments; to serve on one or more committees; and to participate generally in the activities and life of the club.

Attendance

The service club is unique among voluntarily organized clubs in the United States in the extent to which it obligates attendance. Failure to attend sixty per cent of the club's yearly meetings subjects a member to expulsion from Rotary. Virtually the same is true of Kiwanis. While some clubs are often lax about actually expelling their non-attenders, still in every service club a high pressure is exerted to get the members out for every meeting. Attendance prizes, attendance cups for clubs with high attendances, and many other devices are employed to insure regular attendance.

The district bulletins and monthly magazines periodically print ratings of clubs with high attendance records, and publish honor rolls of members who haven't missed meetings for several years. The device of "making up" is resorted to in order to meet the inevitable absences necessitated by business trips and vacations. The member absent at any meeting is allowed to be counted as present if within six days of his absence, either before or after, he attends the meeting of another club within the federation in some other community. The intensity with which this obligation of attendance is expressed is typically of a high degree. It varies with clubs and their attitude toward attendance. The federation organizations place great emphasis upon this obligation. Particular clubs do not always share the enthusiasm of the federation in this matter. Some secretaries have admitted that their clubs do not make a serious attempt to enforce the attendance rule, feeling that attendance secured by such artificial means is not a very genuine test

of interest, and that if the luncheon program is not interesting enough to bring out the members no compulsions should be employed. A member of Lions in a certain community expressed his admiration of Rotary in connection with its attendance requirements in these words, referring to the local Rotary Club's action in expelling a member who was nationally known: "Rotary surely has courage to invite a man to join and then tell him they'll kick him out if he doesn't attend regularly."

The intensity with which this obligation is expressed varies also with the individuals within the club. It varies from the individual who attends very infrequently but occupies such a prominent position in the community that his club dislikes to lose him, to the individual who cuts short his vacation to win a competitive contest for his team because there is no nearer place where he can "make-up."

Financial Obligation

The membership fees and yearly dues of the service club are nominal for the class from which the membership comes. For some members the luncheon fee, usually a dollar, is higher than they ordinarily pay for lunch. Dues vary from ten to fifty dollars a year, each local club setting its own dues, a small part of which goes to federation. The business depression of 1929 required a lowering of the yearly dues in many instances.

While these items complete the regular financial obligations of the member, the service activities of the club are liable to involve him still further. The club may decide to furnish some institution with turkeys for Christmas, or vote to assess its members for gifts to be distributed by the Salvation Army. If the club decides to give a play or a dance to increase its welfare fund, the individual member who is unable to sell a fair proportion of tickets feels under obligation to buy several himself and give them away. The strong social pressure which operates in the expansive after-lunch atmosphere at the weekly meeting makes the less prosperous member hesitant to voice a "nay." "Keeping up with the Joneses" has its place in the service club as in all other personal groups.

Committee Service

The typical club places each member on at least one committee. The degree of participation expected varies with the nature of the function of the committees. Program and attendance committees are vital to the health of the club and are therefore usually assigned to very active members. The degree of participation practised varies with the enthusiasm of its members, particularly the chairman. The writer interviewed members who had to look up the chart of committees to discover to which one they were assigned.

General Participation in Club Activities and Life

Each member is expected to participate generally in all the joint activities which the club undertakes and to partake enthusiastically in the meeting program: to sing when the club sings, to address the club or provide a speaker in turn, or to give back jibe for jibe; to bring old clothes for a needy family, to provide transportation for kiddies to the summer camps, or to solicit for the community chest.

The Intensity of the Relationship of Member to His Club

The intensity of a relationship involves determining the degree to which the character of the relationship is actually fulfilled in the life of the group. The questions to be raised, then, in a description of the intensity of the service club member's relationship to his group are, to what degree does equality in status and similarity in function actually obtain? And still further to what degree does the service club member actually fulfill the obligations of membership?

An answer to these questions requires pointing out a characteristic fact with reference to the service club structure. Typically, the club is composed of three groupings of members. One grouping comprises the nucleus, the men who find their club membership thoroughly satisfying and pleasant. They are the ones who can be counted upon to serve on important committees, especially upon those having to do with the maintenance of the club, and who exercise the routine leadership. They are the men who keep the club going and the ones who would miss it if it were to break up.

There are two other groupings of members whose interest in the entire range of the club life is less pervasive. One of these is composed of men who, by training and experience, are especially well fitted to head specific committees where their abilities would count, as, for example, an educator as chairman of the vocational guidance committee. These men are not as regular in attendance. It may be supposed that they find the pressures exerted toward compulsory attendance irksome, the repetition of hackneyed banter tiresome, and the limited conversational powers of their fellows occasionally monotonous. They do, however, find the service club a useful organized mechanism through which they may express a certain civic and public interest.

The third grouping includes the rest of the membership whose participation in the club activities is limited to fairly regular attendance, nominal service upon committees, and punctual payment of the dues. They are content simply to be known as members of the organization. In brief, it is the first or nuclear group which maintains the club; the second group which gives more intelligent direction to its activities; and the third which adds bulk. It would be impossible to assign any characteristic proportions to these three groups. In a club with high morale, the nuclear group constitutes a high proportion.

In evaluating the intensity of the relationship of the member to his club, it must be kept in mind that the service club is only one of several associations to which the service club member belongs. The sample of members who filled out the social data blanks were asked to specify the other associations to which they belonged. The results are tabulated in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII
NUMBER OF OTHER ASSOCIATIONS TO WHICH A SAMPLE OF 421 ROTARY,
LIONS, AND KIWANIS MEMBERS BELONGED

Number belonging to Five or more	42
“ “ “ Four	33
“ “ “ Three	53
“ “ “ Two	92
“ “ “ One	123
“ “ “ None	37
“ giving no answer	68

Inasmuch as the item was the last on the blank, it may well be that some of the men giving no answer, as distinguished from those who definitely specified "None," actually do belong to other associations. If, however, we put the last two groups together, the figures indicate that three-fourths of this sample of service club members belong to at least one other formal association; that more than half belong to at least two other organized groups; and that about a third belong to three or more. A few men after listing several organizations added "etc." or "some others." One man facetiously wrote "too many."

Of the more than a hundred different associations which were listed by these 421 men, 159 belonged to the Masonic order. In decreasing order the most frequently mentioned associations were the Elks, occupational associations, the Y.M.C.A., Junior Order of United American Mechanics, the Chamber of Commerce, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the American Legion, the Royal Arcanum, and the Knights of Columbus. In Chapter XII the relationship of the service club to some of these associations is discussed. At this point our interest in these other associations is concerned with the effect that membership in them has upon the intensity of the service club member's relationship to his club, because this relationship must be judged in the light of the competition for the man's time and energy which his various other associational memberships involve. An attempt was made to discover the importance which the member attached to his service club membership in relation to his other groups by asking, in the interviews, the question "of the groups to which you belong, in what order do you think you would give them up?" Most of the members interviewed found this question either difficult or embarrassing to answer. Some of the more thoughtful replies are presented here:

"Church last, Masons next, Kiwanis first. Faith comes first, Masonic affiliations are of long standing, Kiwanis is least important of the three."

"Would give up Legion first. It is essentially a self-seeking organization. Rotary second. The church last, due to early formed sentiments and habits."

"Golf club first because I don't care a lot for it. Chamber of Commerce next because I can be of service to the community through Rotary. National Electric Association next because it is a less tangible and more impersonal relationship. Rotary comes next and is the last I'd give up of what might be called the worldly group. Rotary, however, would be given up before Masons or the Church because these two associations have a spiritual value not comparable with other types."

Six men indicated they would give up their service club before the church, as against only one who reversed the order. Interesting as an index of the encroachment of a newer group upon an older, six men thought they would give up their Masonic affiliation before their service club connection, as against three who would give up Masonry last. Out of five men belonging to both service club and an American Legion Chapter, two would give the Legion up first, while three would give up the service club in preference. The answers given indicating preferences in group affiliations do not necessarily indicate the relative degree of activity in the several groups. Men who believe that they would give up their service club before Masons or their churches admit, nevertheless, that their service club activity is more regular and satisfying. The best composite answer that can be given to the question "In what order would you give up group affiliations?" is that the service club would be dropped before the church, and that Masonic affiliation would be relinquished before the service club. The relative importance of Elks and American Legion membership as contrasted with membership in a service club seems about equal to those belonging to both.

Summary on the Relationship of Member to Group

The character of the relationship of the member to the service club is one of equality in status and similarity in function. The extent of this relationship is limited to attending a weekly meeting, an occasional committee meeting, and infrequent, but sometimes for a short period, intensive activity in connection with a club project. The intensity with which this relationship prevails is relatively high. The intensity with which the obligations of mem-

bership are fulfilled varies with each individual member but these variations divide into three classes of membership, the thorough-going "boosters" who keep the club alive; the less regularly active members who find the club useful as a means of expressing their philanthropic and civic interests; and the men who just belong.

RELATIONSHIP OF MEMBER TO MEMBER

Character

The character of the relationship of the service club member to his fellow member is one of intimate fellowship. Objectively, what one observes at the luncheon meeting is men greeting each other heartily, adding the touch of the elbow to the grasp of the hand as a token of especial gladness at greeting; the informality of the first or nickname and inquiry concerning each other's wives and children, the conditions of each other's business or their states of health; good natured jibes and banter prodding each other into an attitude of jolly fellowship.

Involved in a relationship of intimate fellowship are friendliness and informality. The weekly meeting previously described and the conditions and norms to be presently described will indicate that friendliness and informality are aimed at in the pattern of the service club. It will be seen also that their norms are directed toward equality.²

With reference to friendliness in the characteristic fellowship of the service club, it is clear that the club is a face-to-face group where contacts are direct and personal. Such contacts cannot be maintained except upon a basis of friendliness. It is inevitable that there is an occasional instance where a member dislikes another member. But the two in such a case must be able to dissemble a smiling "hello" when they meet at the luncheon. If their animosity should be so deep as to prevent speaking to one another, the strained relationship thereby precipitated will eventually lead to

² Equality is separated here from friendliness and informality because in the writer's opinion it is not necessarily involved in the relationship of intimate friendship. For example, the relationship of master to pupil may be one of the most precious intimate experiences of fellowship. Yet there the superiority of the master to pupil is recognized by both.

one or the other resigning. The writer knows of one instance where two fellow members thoroughly disliked one another. The dissembling went on until one was elected president. Then the smouldering animosity of the other broke out and he resigned from the club.

Equality is another aspect of the relationship of intimate fellowship between service clubs members. Social distances operating outside the club which might act as barriers to equality between members have no place in the service club as it ideally operates. The Hon. James Blueblood may trace his lineage back to the Mayflower, while Henry Newcomer may be a son of a plumber, but at the service club luncheon, the Hon. Blueblood is only Jim to Hank. Judge Stevens may be the quintessence of judicial pomp and decorum in the courtroom but he must sing "Peggy O'Neil" with the same gusto as Pat O'Hara, genial boss of the second ward.

Intensity of Relationship of Member to Member

In attempting to ascertain the degree to which this relationship of intimate fellowship is actually fulfilled in the service club, it is necessary to examine certain conditions which facilitate or retard the development of this relationship and also to describe certain normative modes of conduct which are recognized as useful ways of fixating this relationship.

Conditions

The conditions which facilitate or retard the intensity with which the relation of fellowship prevails have to do with the arrangement of seating at luncheon, the size of the club, and the size of the community.

The typical arrangement of seating at luncheon clubs is to get all seated at long tables, so that as many as possible are facing each other. This sort of seating extends the range of fellowship of any member to include the largest possible portion of the other members present and makes possible exchange of conversation and pleasantries up and down the whole table. The contrast between the luncheon club where this seating scheme is used and the club where

the members are seated in fours or sixes at several different tables, in terms of superficial impression of unity of spirit, is marked.

The relation of size in the discussion of this matter is obvious. When the club exceeds fifty members, this seating arrangement becomes a physical impossibility. Also, the opportunity to get on a friendly basis with every other member inevitably becomes less. The casual nod of the president of a large metropolitan service club to a member addressed by his last name contrasted with the typical hearty "Hello, Bill" of the smaller club illustrates the difficulty of maintaining the friendly relation in a large club.

The size of the community affects the friendly character of the relationship of member to member in a service club as it inevitably affects all friendships in any group. The writer is well acquainted with a town of less than five thousand inhabitants which has a Rotary Club. Practically all the members of this club have lived in the community some time and know each other quite well outside of Rotary. Naturally the friendly character of the Rotary relationship was easier to develop under this condition.

Norms

Relationships grow out of the contacts—physical and psychical—of individuals with individuals. But once they have been established they tend to become fixated, established as the normative modes of behavior. From this point in the group process, the character of the relationships is no longer determined wholly by the spontaneous play of personalities, but is to a large extent pre-determined for the new comers to the group. To put this in terms of the service club, it may be said that in the first club, the relationship between members described was determined by the character of the personalities and the nature of the activities for the pursuit of which they agreed to form a group. But once this relationship had become developed, certain practices developing spontaneously were perceived by the members as valuable ways to cultivate the kind of relationship they feel ought to be established to fulfil the aims of the club. From this point on, new members and new clubs were not in a position to decide wholly for themselves whether or not they wanted to be intimate fellows upon a basis of

equality and informality. They are expected, at least outwardly, to conform to the norms which have been established.

The norms of the service club are addressing members by their first or nicknames; banter or "kidding"; and respectability.

Addressing by First Name

The service club member is expected to address a fellow member by his first name. It is felt that this fosters the atmosphere of friendly fellowship and confirms the idea that all are equal. This norm is practised to a large degree. There are, however, certain factors which make a strict adherence to this norm difficult. These are factors involving social distance which exist between the members outside of the club and which are not easily eradicated under the mystic spell of good fellowship within the club. A minister, to many men, represents a man apart whose calling invites an especial respectful attitude. One club compromises in this regard by calling its preacher member "Parson." Similarly another club calls a college president "Prexy." In another club many of the members actually address their preacher member as Dr. ———.

Age is another factor. Several service club members suggested that it was a little hard to call the older men by their first names. This is especially true when one has known them as adults in his own boyhood and always addressed them as Colonel or Mister.

Again, there is relative newness of the acquaintanceship of a member. Here, perhaps, the most certain testimony can be given by the writer himself in his service club in a community where he was comparatively unknown. A few days following his initiation he was surprised in a grocery store by a hearty "Hello, Fred" coming from a man whom he did not at first even recognize by sight as a fellow Kiwanian. The immediate reaction was unpleasant though, upon second thought, it was realized that this man was merely trying to establish the appropriate service club relationship.

Kidding and Humor

The description of the service club meetings given indicated that "kidding" is a normative mode of behavior in the relationship of member to member. No man who is hypersensitive to having

pranks played upon him or his idiosyncrasies pointed out will find the service club congenial. Deprecatory remarks concerning another's personality or business are constantly bandied back and forth. Fined ten cents for not filling in the tables or seats close to the speaker, the person fined will say: "It is worth a quarter not to have to sit with John and Tom."

The general "horseplay" varies, of course, with the composition of the group. It sometimes is boisterous and at other times is carried to extremes. The first and oldest (in terms of age composition) club is usually less boisterous and more restrained in its banter and kidding.

An example of carrying kidding too far was offered by one service club president. Another president once resigned because a loving cup presented to the club for high attendance at a district conference had been stolen from him. The president accused members of taking it which they all, of course, denied. About a month later the cup turned up but their president had quit the club.

The peregrination of a five-dollar bill afforded amusement for two consecutive luncheons of the X Club. John laid down a fiver to be changed when the attendance slips and luncheon fee were collected. When the collector came around to John's table, the bill had disappeared. John jokingly accused several members of taking it. All protested indignantly and appealed to the chair to impose a fine for casting aspersions upon their character. It finally turned out that the waiter had unknowingly carried the bill, stuck to a greasy plate, to the kitchen.

Respectability

The service club member considers himself a respectable citizen. Characteristically he belongs to a church and is a family man. The banter and joking indulged in between club members is therefore tempered with a punctilious respectability. Swearing and risqué stories are taboo. Drinking is conspicuous for its absence at the luncheon.³ At the state convention of these clubs there is an atmos-

³ Since writing these lines, prohibition has been repealed. In one club, there was indulgence in the new freedom on the part of a few members for the first week or so, but since then no liquor has been ordered at the luncheons. At one meeting a

phere of hearty good fellowship, but liquor is not present. Even men who may indulge privately in a cocktail on occasion do not appear publicly at the convention with a noticeable "breath." There is an occasional club where a more "sporty" atmosphere prevails, but such a club is not typical. The process by which members are selected inevitably produces a club personnel which has many members who are conspicuously respectable in the conventional sense. Nearly every club has either a minister, a Y.M.C.A. secretary, or a public school official, and sometimes all three. Such men do not wish, or at any rate cannot afford, to be associated with organizations which do not conform to conventional norms of respectability.⁴

Conclusion as to the Intensity of the Relationship of Member to Member

After examining the conditions and norms affecting the relationships between members, the intensity of intimate fellowship in the service club becomes attenuated sufficiently to lead to the conclusion that these men are really only friendly acquaintances. The visitor at the club impressed with the cordiality, informality, and heartiness in their relations one toward another would feel that the members were lifelong friends. Still further he would be impressed by the setting which is provided and the norms insisted upon to facilitate intimacy. But the experience of the writer and the testimony of members interviewed does not wholly confirm this impression. These lead to the judgment that the fellowship is to a marked degree superficial. The members interviewed indicated that, in a majority of cases, their closest friends were not in

member ordered a cocktail but it is significant that he apologized to the president by claiming a cold.

⁴ An interesting historical note on the norms of behavior characterizing organizations of citizens and merchants in London is found in the September 1930 issue of *The Rotarian* (p. 39) in which Past-President Glendenning, speaking on "Old London Clubs," quotes some of the rules of one club as follows:

"Every member shall fill his pipe out of his own box; if any member absents himself he shall forfeit a penny for the use of the club, unless in case of sickness or imprisonment; if any member tells stories in the club that are not true, he shall forfeit for every third lie a half-penny; if any member's wife comes to fetch him home, she shall speak to him without the door."

their service club. In many cases, certain men were friends before they joined the club. In some instances, the club contact began a friendship. But the relationship of any given member to a large majority of his club fellows involves only contact at the luncheon hour of the club, and can hardly be expected, therefore, to result in anything more than friendly acquaintance. It would be, in the opinion of the writer, inaccurate and misleading to label hypothetical this apparent anomaly. In the interpretation which concludes our study, it will be maintained that the service club has flourished as a type of group in our society because men yearn for a more intimate fellowship. The primary difficulty for this anomalous situation lies not with the men themselves but with certain characteristics of the society in which they live, to which we refer in Chapter IX.

Conclusion Regarding Relationship of Member to Member

The character of this relationship is one of intimate fellowship, involving friendliness, informality, and equality. By this is meant that this type of relationship is what is aimed at logically in the pattern of the club. The conditions which facilitate or retard its realization have been indicated, and the norms established to develop it have been stated.

However, when one gets behind the outward semblance of intimate fellowship, he finds that in intensity this relationship is in reality only friendly acquaintanceship.

CHAPTER VII

THE BOND OF UNION

How is the service club held together? The activities and the relationships herein described are coordinated by a system which makes the group a functioning unity. Any group is held together by the presence of certain common interests on the part of its several members and by certain external bonds—foci of centralization—which give the formal, objective expression to the common interests. The boys in a gang have the common interests of protection from other gangs, of desire for adventure, of recognition of their importance. Thrasher has shown how the gang activities satisfies these interests.¹ In order to give a formal, objective expression to the gang's unity, a name, a slogan, and acknowledged common purposes are often adopted.

While these two aspects of the bond of union are characteristic of all permanent groups, certain groups develop to a formally organized stage. Here the adoption of a set of rules and regulations, and the establishment of certain offices with recognized functions are effected to develop the group's unity. The gang's organization is rudimentary. It is flexible, not written, and unreflectively developed. When a boys' group reaches the stage where it has a definite set of rules and regulations it is really a club rather than a gang.

The service club in common with all groups, then, has an inner bond of union, that is, it is based upon certain common interests; and an external bond of union manifested in terms of symbols, purposes, and possessions. As an organized group it also has an organizational structure. The bond of union of the service club will be described under the headings: 1, the inner bond; 2, the external bond; and 3, the organization.

¹ F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, University of Chicago Press, 1927.

I. THE INNER BOND

Like and Common Interests

The distinction between like and common interests is put by MacIver as follows:² "When each of a number of beings pursues an interest like or identical in type to that which every other pursues, say a livelihood, or reputation—or any other interest which is for each discrete or personal—we may call the interests they severally pursue *like* interests. Such interests do not necessarily involve any community, any social relationship, between the beings who will them, however like the interests are. . . . When, on the other hand, a number of people pursue one single comprehensive interest of them all, say the welfare or reputation of a town or country or family—we may call that interest a *common* interest." In addition to the like and common interests there are discrete individual interests which actually lie back of some of the common interests but which cannot be called common interests. The store owner who joins a church expecting to get business is motivated by a discrete interest which lies back of his common interest in the church. But this mercenary interest is not a like interest of all the members.

The Interests Binding Service Club Members to the Club

It is difficult to set forth the interests which link the members of a group to the group in disparate terms. For example, a member said he liked his service club because it "gave him fellowship with a fine bunch of men." Here there are two interests expressed, one an interest in fellowship, the other an implied interest in the prestige which accrues from association with influential members of the community. The writer has drawn upon three sources in order to discover what these interests are. First there are testimonials printed in the federation magazines upon the theme, "What Rotary (or Kiwanis, etc.) Means to Me." These have naturally a limited value because they are bound to be expressed in idealistic terms and exaggerated form. Second, present and past members were interviewed and asked privately what their club meant to

² R. M. MacIver, *Community*, MacMillan, 1928, p. 103.

them, why they had joined it, and whether or not their anticipations had been fulfilled, etc. Third, the writer had more than three years' experience as a member of a service club with the opportunity of experiencing these interests for himself. It is doubtless true that the possession of a discrete individual interest which was unlike that of any other member—namely, interest in making this study—to some extent made his service club experience atypical.

Below are quoted two testimonials of service club members expressed publicly for the ears and eyes of fellow club members.

Rotary . . . pulls a man out of a rut and gives him a more intimate contact with his neighbors whom he meets every day, but did not know before. So I frankly say to you that Rotary has brought me out of a deep rut and made life more worth living. The fellowship of you men . . . means a great deal to me, and let me say right here, not in a material way, either, that if perchance my business may be a little more prosperous during the past seven years, I cannot by any stretch of the imagination, attribute it to Rotary from a selfish or trade-with-one-another idea, but to the fact that Rotary has given me a broader and deeper vision of the responsibilities of representing my craft to the end that the ideals of Rotary are served. I have, through the contacts made at weekly gatherings, come to know you better, to more truly appreciate your worthy qualities as men, citizens, and business men, and also to be more charitable in weighing your deficiencies and thereby being able to better render in my own mind the justice of thought toward all of you. From you I have learned much, not only in business methods, but in the broader duties of citizenship and community responsibilities. One of the greatest things in Rotary is to be able to form acquaintanceships, which occasionally ripen into deep friendships, with men from whom I do not need to or intend to ask a favor, or to do business with me, knowing full well that if Rotary's wand has touched him, he will be in the same frame of mind.³

* * *

I believe that after four years as a member of the Optimist Club I can qualify to venture my opinions of just what can be found in Service Luncheon Clubs and especially in the Optimist Club. To those who are not fortunate enough to have contacted a group of fellow men, week in and week out, and who remain in the uninitiated, necessarily, in my opinion, carry on through life without a definite understanding of the other fellow's viewpoint and lack the opportunity of rubbing elbows around the festive board. Membership in the Optimist

³ Lloyd Hemming, *The Rotarian*, January 1930, p. 38.

Club, or any other Service Luncheon Club, will do much to break down the imaginary barriers and obstacles that seem to exist on this journey through life.

There is to be found in the Optimist Club—tolerance, harmony, good-fellowship, and above all, a loyal spirit of cooperation and an understanding of the other fellow's problems. Optimism teaches, without a question of a doubt, that your neighbor is a human being, after all, without horns and with the milk of human kindness running through him. Optimism means to me a chance of serving those who are less fortunate, or who require a word of encouragement and a helping hand—the SERVING OF THE LIVING FIRST.

Optimism has enabled me to cultivate myself and to develop what powers I possess in order that I may be of greater service to all humanity. I can visualize here and now, seeing men going on through life, who have become commonplace, mean and without the enthusiasm of youth and growth—like a tree covered with fungus, the foliage diseased, the life gone out of the heart with dry rot. Optimism means to me the changing of this outlook and the reconstruction of this chaotic condition.⁴

Private interviews with members of various service clubs throw some light upon the interests of members in their clubs. Some of the questions asked by the writer were: "Why did you join? Were your anticipations realized? If you were trying to persuade a friend to join your club, what arguments would you present?" While it must, of course, be understood that the oral interview has limitations as a means of discerning the real motivation lying behind group membership, yet the writer feels that within the limits of an individual's awareness of his own interests and desires the replies are relatively genuine.

First are quoted some replies of present members.

"At the time I joined Kiwanis, knowing very little about service clubs, my desire to become a member was for the pleasant associations and prestige which membership in an active organization brings. If I were now urging another man to join I would emphasize good fellowship and the assistance to underprivileged children to which Kiwanis is dedicated as the chief values."

"I believe the principal function of a service club is to promote community work of some type. I feel that by being a member of

⁴ Sam Markowitz, *The Optimist International*, May 1932, p. 6.

Exchange, the individual can work for the community more effectively. He can also work for his country more effectively because the clubs are linked in a national association. Further an interchange of ideas is gained by attendance at the meetings. And finally, there is an advantage in a business way."

"I was urged by my friends to join the Lions Club. I saw in it a chance for self-development and civic service. It has given me an opportunity to appreciate men I hardly knew before, or about whom I had mistaken notions."

Interviews with past members may be considered as a means of securing statements less partial and less extravagant in their emphasis upon the values of membership in the group. Some of the statements concerning the value of their service club membership obtained from past members are presented below. It must, of course, be remembered that these men have forsaken their club, and, therefore, must justify in some way their remission of membership.

"For me, the only real reason for urging men to join Rotary is the social values involved. Eating together weekly, meeting business colleagues or competitors, singing and laughing together—that is the chief reason why the service clubs have survived. . . . Some members have loosened up a good deal, especially the more timid, socially graceless members, who have had difficulty in ordinary social relationships."

"I left Rotary because I couldn't afford the time for meetings. I enjoyed Rotary because I was in with a fine bunch of men who represent the best in their lines in the community; and because Rotary is interested in promoting the welfare of the community and the best business practices."

Another past member had the frankness to say that "our club is really a social club, although it advertises itself as a community service organization."

Classification of Interests and Their Relative Importance

The forty-five members interviewed represented twenty-two different clubs. Each member or past member expressed one or more interests which caused him to belong to the organization.

Counting each separate interest as expressed by each member one, the total number for the forty-five men was one hundred. These interests were then classified under the following headings. Fellowship or sociability, mentioned thirty-three times and opportunity for civic service, twenty-nine, are the leaders. Following, in order, are: prestige interest, mentioned eleven times; business advantage, fourteen; cultural or self-development, eight times; contacts with business men, five; relaxation, three; and two others.

In order to indicate what specific phrases of the members were classified under these major headings, each interest is discussed more fully in the following pages. The author's evaluation of the service club as a means of fulfilling these interests is reserved for the interpretation (Chapters IX and X).

Fellowship, or Sociability

By far the largest number of men, thirty-three, spoke of this interest as the most important reason for belonging to the service club. Some of the answers included under this heading were "new friends made," "desire to know more men in the community," "intimacy with all," "formality and social barriers removed."

Interest in Community

This interest ran a close second to the fellowship interest in the minds of service club members, being mentioned by twenty-nine men. It appears to divide into two closely related sub-interests: that of keeping in touch with what is going on in the community; and that of serving the community in some way. Some of the answers included under this heading are "assistance to underprivileged children," "opportunity for civic service," "teach how to serve the community," or, as one minister member of Rotary put it, "the enlarged chance for friendly service to be rendered to other men, and to the community, with the joy such service brings to the one who renders it."

Prestige

Eleven men suggested that they felt membership in the club raised their prestige in the community. Sometimes this interest was indirectly couched in such phrases as, "because you are in with

a fine bunch of men who represent the best in their line in the community," "an opportunity to rub elbows with best men in community," "I feel that being a member stamps me as a man of character and ability." This is obviously a sort of interest which would not be expressed openly as often as it existed.

Business Advantage

Fourteen men admitted that some business advantage accrued from membership. Four men, on the other hand, were emphatic that no such values were obtained. One said that it gave him an opportunity to ask for business and that his membership paid from this side. Another, after stating some of the above major interests, concluded: "and incidentally a little business thrown my way." Another said at one time in the interview, "aid in business should not be looked for or promised"; and later on said he made unlooked for business contacts through the club. Members who are public or semi-public workers, social workers, ministers, school administrators indicated that membership in a service club was a good way of advertising the interests of their institutions.

On the negative side a Lions member testified: "I never made any effort to trade with Lions, nor was I ever asked to." Logically it would appear that men in occupations, such as law or real estate where a small number of customers with a large fee or large commission is the rule, have a chance to get considerable business advantage, as contrasted with the men in occupations whose success depends upon a large number of customers with small sales to each. On the whole, the writer is inclined to agree with the verdict of two influential leaders of service clubs, that men more often join with an eye to business advantage than remain in the club on account of it. It is probable that for the majority of the members, the cost and time required for service club membership would at least offset the value of business obtained from members.⁵

Self-Expression

A few men mentioned this as a reason for belonging to the club. In most cases they were leaders in their clubs who felt they achieved

⁵ Some of the minor federations state more baldly the business advantage of membership. (See p. 109.)

poise and confidence in public appearance through presiding and speaking at the luncheons.

Cultural Development

Four men mentioned the educational value of the talks given at the luncheon meetings as their chief interest in the club.

Other Interests

"Relaxation and fun," "relief of tension from business troubles," and "an interesting and diverting luncheon hour" were stated by three members as important reasons for belonging to their service clubs.

Conclusion

It would be absurd to assign any definite quantitative values to testimony on interests obtained in this way. It may well be that relief of tension from business cares, mentioned by only one man, may be as important as the interest in community welfare. However, the interests expressed here are reasons, even if they are in many cases rationalizations of unconscious motives, why men belong to service clubs.

Of these various interests, that of fellowship and that of community service form the nexus of common interest. For the pursuit of these, there is required the sharing of a common interest in the maintenance and improvement of the club.

2. THE EXTERNAL BOND—FOCI OF CENTRALIZATION

The foci of centralization which compose the external bond of union of the service club are the written aims and objects; the symbols—the name, mottos and slogans, emblems, songs; and possessions.

Written Aims and Objects

Every group has certain aims and purposes. In the case of organized groups, these aims and objects are incorporated in a written statement which focuses attention upon its purposes and serves constantly to remind the members of the group's reason for existence. The service club, as an organized group, therefore, has a

statement of its aims and objects. These aims are those of the international or national federation which are adopted or reaffirmed at each succeeding annual convention. The state conventions, as a rule, adopt the same written aims as the international convention.

Some examples of the stated objects of service club federations may be quoted at this point. The Cooperative Club International in a pamphlet answers the question "What is the purpose of Cooperative clubs?" as follows: They are "for the purpose of: 1. promoting acquaintance,⁶ 2. creating higher business and civic principles, and 3. forwarding the business and social welfare of its members."⁶ Optimist International answers the same question as follows: "1. To develop Optimism as a philosophy of life, 2. to promote an active interest in good government and civic affairs; to inspire respect for law; to promote patriotism and to work for international accord and friendship, 3. to engage in and encourage juvenile welfare work."⁷

The general similarity in stated aims already indicated may be further clarified by placing in parallel columns the aims of two of the larger federations, Rotary and Kiwanis.

Rotary

To encourage high ethical standards in business and professions.

To encourage the recognition of the worthiness of all legitimate occupations and the dignifying of the occupation of each Rotarian as affording him an opportunity to serve society.

To encourage the interchange of ideas and of business methods as a means of increasing the efficiency and usefulness of Rotarians.

Kiwanis

To promote the adoption and application of higher social, business and professional standards.

To encourage the daily living of the Golden Rule in all human relationships.

⁶ *The Cooperative Club International: What It Is and What It Stands for.*

⁷ *Optimist International; Optimism and The Optimist Club.*

To foster the development of a broad acquaintanceship as an opportunity for service as well as an aid to success.

To promote, through Kiwanis Clubs, a practical means to form enduring friendships, to render altruistic service, and to build better communities.

To encourage the active interest of every Rotarian in the civic, commercial, social and moral welfare of his community.

To develop by precept and example a more intelligent, aggressive, and serviceable citizenship.

This parallel comparison of similar objects of these two organizations leaves out one of Rotary's objects: "To encourage the ideal of service as the basis of all worthy enterprise." It also omits two of Kiwanis's objects: "To give primacy to the human and spiritual rather than the material values in life"; and "To co-operate in maintaining that social public opinion and high idealism which makes possible the increase of righteousness, justice, patriotism, and goodwill."

Put in brief statement the stated aim of a service club is to foster fellowship among its members as a means of developing a more effective communityship. While there is certain variation in wording, and some variation in actual emphasis, as for example, Rotary's greater emphasis upon higher business standards, in general they all claim similar objectives. It must be remembered that these are stated, written aims; they tell nothing about accomplishment.⁸ What is of significance here is that, irrespective of what degree these avowed aims may be translated into actual accomplishment, their repeated expression in service club literature and convention speeches serves to make the members feel themselves united in a group experience which has idealistic claims for existence.

The Symbols

The following lines from Dr. Coyle suggest the rôle of symbolism in creating the bond of union of a group.

It is in the communication of the common attachment to the group that we find the most exuberant growth of a group language. As

⁸ For comparison between avowed aims and actual accomplishment, refer to Chapters III and IV.

loyalty to the organization develops . . . there emerges by the inevitable process of symbolic reference a set of symbols to carry the new meanings. . . .

If we examine the formation of such group languages as they express the esprit de corps of the group we find that they consist, like all languages, of symbols with different functions. Some are substantives which point out or denote entities, some convey action, some qualify either substantive or action. Certain of them are largely denoting in function; others exist primarily to convey emotion.⁹

The symbols of the service club are its name, its mottoes or slogans, and its emblems. In terms of Dr. Coyle's analysis, the name denotes entity, the mottoes and slogans convey action, and an emblem such as the president's gavel and bell denotes function.

The Name

Rotary

The name Rotary was adopted for the club founded by Paul Harris in Chicago because the club had been holding its meetings in rotation at the different places of business of the members. "The meetings from office to office gave the members an opportunity to learn about the other fellow's business. . . . Thus was established a custom which has resolved itself into one of the present day features of Rotary Clubs—the business service talks by different members."

According to Rotary International, "Today Rotary is a word that stands for better business practices and ideals in business and professional intercourse."¹⁰

Kiwanis

According to Kiwanis International, their name was an Indian name, the original meaning of which was "I make a noise." "It is understood that because of the limitations of Indian vocabulary its words had a broad meaning, and that kee-wanis was taken to mean, 'To make one's self known; to impress, to make a noise.'"¹¹

⁹ Grace L. Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups*, Richard R. Smith, 1930, p. 137.

¹⁰ *Synopsis of Rotary*, p. 10.

¹¹ *Progress and Outlook of Kiwanis International*, p. 4.

Lions

"Our name was not selected at random, neither was it a coined name. From time immemorial, the lion has been a symbol of all that was good and because of this symbolism the name was chosen. Four outstanding qualities, courage, strength, activity, and fidelity . . . had largely to do with the adoption of the name. The last mentioned of these qualities, fidelity . . . has a deep and peculiar significance for all Lions. . . . The lion has been a symbol of fidelity through all the ages and among all nations, ancient and modern. It stands for loyalty to a friend, loyalty to a principle, loyalty to a duty, loyalty to a trust."¹²

Exchange

An explanation of the adoption of this name is not given in Exchange Club literature. One might assume that inasmuch as one of the general original purposes of all service clubs was to provide a means to exchange ideas—and perhaps, at least to some extent, business—that the name Exchange would be a logical choice.

One interesting process is revealed by this account of the meaning of the service clubs' names. The content of the meaning changes in the development of the club. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Rotary. Of the four the only name which has a logical reference to the nature of the club is Exchange.

Mottoes and Slogans

Rotary's motto is "Service above self," with a second statement, "He profits most who serves the best."

Kiwanis's official slogan adopted at the Portland Convention in 1920 is "We Build."¹³ Its first motto was "We Trade." This change may symbolize the desire which is apparent among service club men to create the impression that the club does not exist merely for mercenary reasons.

The Lions' slogan is developed from the letters of their name:

Liberty Intelligence Our Nation's Safety.

Exchange has for its motto: *Unity for Service.*

¹² *The Lion*, January 1931, p. 5.

¹³ *The Progress and Outlook of Kiwanis International*, p. 5.

It is seen that the three of these four mottos denote action and express the same underlying idea that the service club should perform altruistic service to the community. The Lions' motto is more of an expression of an alleged faith.

Emblem

Each club has an official emblem which is used on all their periodicals and letterheads, as well as worn on pins signifying membership. Rotary's emblem is a rotary wheel on which the words "Rotary International" are inscribed. Exchange's emblem is an "X" imposed upon a "C" and the motto "Unity for Service," and "National" inscribed. The circular pattern of Lions' emblem is slightly distorted by a side-face view of a Lion on either side. The words "Lions International" appear.

Rotary characteristically makes use of the emblem to have large circular badges which are donned at the luncheon having the member's first or nickname and last name, below which appears his classification (occupation).

The pins are not habitually worn by service club members in their daily life, at least not by the service club men with whom the writer came in contact.

Songs

The club songs express and repeat with variations the sentiments expressed in the stated aims and objects and in the slogans. The following songs from the official song books of Kiwanis and Rotary indicate this.

THE SIGN OF THE "K"

We are met on the ground of a common cause
Just to serve and build, not destroy,
For we know that the girl is our priceless pearl
And the nation's great wealth is the boy.

CHORUS:

We'd rather build a man than a mansion
We'd rather win a name than a crown
The "K" is the brand that means a helping hand
To lift up the brother when he's down

We believe in growth and expansion
And we don't mind trying anything
But we'd rather build a man than a mansion.
And we'd rather help a pauper than a king.

THE SPIRIT OF ROTARY

From the North, from the South, from the East and West,
There spreads a mighty throng.
No creed, no code, but to serve the best,
Is the slogan that binds them strong.
Each for each other, and all for all,
Ready their task to see,
With hearty zest, for any test
Whatever the task may be,
For he profits most, who serves the best,
Is the spirit of Ro-ta-ry.

Conclusions on Symbols

In the whole gamut of objects, mottos and other symbols, there is expressed again and again the idealistic basis by which the service club justifies its existence to the world and to itself. There is one conspicuous element lacking in the service club's foci of centralization, namely the esoteric element. There are no secret passwords, and no ritual, esoteric or otherwise. Its initiations are informal and not standardized, lacking the solemnity that characterizes initiation into college fraternities or other orders, such as the Masons. Consequently, its symbols do not evoke the emotional fervor characteristic of many other organized groups. Again, the service club lacks historic tradition which serves as a unifying bond in many associations. Twenty-five years of existence has given Rotary a history, but the other three organizations have had their rapid expansion since the World War.

Possessions

A strong unifying bond for many organized groups is their possessions. The possession of a common home and property sometimes holds together a family in which the subjective bonds have been attenuated. The service club, however, lacks this unifying bond. It has few possessions. It rents a place to hold its meetings, and in the case of a large city club, may rent an office and directors'

room in a hotel. It has a treasury only for its yearly budget, plus, in some cases, an accumulated welfare fund from which it draws for its welfare activity. Its only other real possessions are a few flags, and attendance or efficiency cups it may have won in competition with other clubs.

3. THE ORGANIZATION

The third factor involved in holding a group together is the organization. The description of this factor will be divided into a discussion of the organization of the club itself and of the relation of the club to state or district federations and the national or international organization.

The service club organization is composed of officers, board of directors, and committees.

The Officers

Each club has a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. Usually the office of president and of vice-president rotates yearly. This rotation appears to be due to two factors: first, it expresses the general democratic nature of the service club; and second, it confines to one year for any member the performance of duties which involve a considerable amount of time. The vice-presidential office is normally the stepping-stone to the presidency. The offices of secretary and treasurer tend to change less often in order to provide a certain continuity in the administration. Again, these are offices requiring a good amount of routine work, less interesting and less prestige-accumulating than the presidency. So they tend to be filled by patient members who do not aspire to the presidency. In some of the larger clubs, the secretaryship is a paid office.

The incumbent president has not only the official but real responsibility for the activity and morale of the club during the year. Upon the enthusiasm and imagination which he devotes to his office depends the success of the club for the year. For the routine maintenance of the club the secretary plays the major rôle. As the officer whose position is more permanent, he probably knows more about

Kiwanis, etc., than any other one person. When a situation arises involving precedent, he, as the keeper of the records, is more likely to know "what has been done about this in the past," or "what is International's recommendation about this."

The Board of Directors

This group of six to twelve men is chosen by the club. All important matters, such as what projects the club will foster, are discussed and voted on by this board and referred to the club for approval or disapproval. This board usually has one or two past presidents in its membership.

The Committees

The service club has a large number of committees.¹⁴ These divide into two groups: those concerned with the maintenance of the club, as attendance, membership, classification, program, social committees; and those concerned with fostering the objectives and aims of the club, as underprivileged children, boys' work, public affairs committees.

As was before indicated (section on Privileges and Obligations) the aim is to have every member on at least one committee. But while this is easy to accomplish in name, it is frequently necessary to place the most active members on two or, sometimes, three committees in order to insure activity on the part of the committees.¹⁵

The Relation of the Local Club to International and State Federation

As the international and state federations are not of much concern to the purpose of this study, they will be dealt with only insofar as they affect the local club. The service club is a local club in loose affiliation with the larger federation. The important things are the

¹⁴ One Rotary Club of fifty-eight members had seventeen committees as follows: Aim and Objects, Club Service, Vocational Service, Membership, Program, Public Information, Fellowship, Attendance, Classification, Rotary Education, Athletics, Crippled Children, Boys' Work, Civic Relations, Community Service, International Service, and Rural-Urban.

¹⁵ The service club referred to in the previous footnote had every member on some committee but had eight members on two different committees.

local clubs. The federation is important only as it serves these local clubs.

An international organization was founded by each of the Big Four (Exchange being national) after a small number of individual clubs had been founded.¹⁶ From this point on, the federation served to standardize the pattern of each of its local clubs. At the annual conventions, resolutions governing the local clubs are passed. The autonomy of the latter is thus restricted. As examples, the local club may not alter the basis of selection, engage in active partisan politics as a club, or agree to meet less regularly than the federation stipulates. The federations print pamphlets which develop and explain the regulations.

More important is the function of the federation in maintaining the interest of the local clubs. Monthly magazines are published describing the activities of clubs in various parts of the federation's territory, serving to suggest lines of activity to all. In addition are included articles on a variety of subjects which might interest its members. For example, in *Kiwanis Magazine* for October 1933, appear articles on the new banking legislation, on process of securing efficient city government, business methods in social work, observations on our foreign relations, in addition to news about club and state federation activities.

The state or district organizations have annual conventions and in some states publish a monthly district bulletin.

For the rank and file of members the federation, national and state, is a matter of comparatively little interest. The state conventions are attended by a few members of each club, particularly those with a political interest in electing someone to a district office. The writer has not discovered any indication that the majority of the members either read the monthly magazine or bulletin or concern themselves with the larger unit of which the club is a part.

Conclusion on Organization

The organizational structure of the service club and the federated association is characteristically American. It attempts, in an inter-

¹⁶ For the difference in founding of Lions International and other facts concerning the history of these federations, see p. 8.

esting way, to combine the democracy of the American political organization with the autocracy of the economic organization; to preserve the right of each individual to a share in determining the activities of the group and to secure the efficiency which comes from delegating broad powers to responsible officials. The democratic features are seen in the practice of rotation of the presidency and the attempt to secure active cooperation from all members through committee service. The autocratic feature is illustrated by the broad powers of the board of directors. For example, it is they who vote in the new members.

Conflict

The question opposed to that with which this chapter opened should be asked, namely, what are the factors tending to disunite the members? In a group study, a place logically belongs to conflict as an essential process in group life. The brevity of the treatment of this aspect of group life is enforced by the writer's opinion that in the service club, conflict is apparently at a minimum. Situations producing conflict may arise as a result of the members failing to support the officers. Such a situation is indicated in the case of the "T" Club (see p. 115) where the failure of the members to turn out in good number for the first-rate speaker incensed the president. There is an occasional instance of conflict due to the presence in the club of two individuals who especially dislike each other. Such an instance was noted above (see p. 78) where one left when the other was made president. In this case, however, the conflict was individual and did not result in the formation of cliques or factions in support of the two individuals. Occasionally some sharp debate ensues over public questions, but most of such argument is carried out in a friendly, or more frequently, bantering manner. In none of the service club meetings which the writer attended was there any evidence of conflict. The same is true for his own club where his presence is not that of an observer. Some reasons for this are the relatively high degree of homogeneity in the social and cultural level of the membership, the essential purpose of fellowship, the practice of restricting its welfare activities to safe and sane channels, and the avoidance of partisan politics.

CHAPTER VIII

VARIATION IN PATTERN AND CHANGE

THROUGHOUT the description of the pattern of the service club, the assumption has been made that these thousands of service clubs throughout the United States and Canada conform to a single pattern. Immediately the question might be raised, is the Rotary Club of Springfield, Illinois, like that of Springfield, Massachusetts? Or does the Lions Club of Newport, New Hampshire, resemble the Kiwanis Club of Newport News, Virginia? Again, do all the service clubs in a single community conform to a single pattern? The major part of the discussion of variation in pattern is confined to The Big Three. At the close, a brief treatment of the variations presented by the minor federations is included.

In describing the pattern of the club at any point, illustrative data have been drawn indiscriminately from one federation or the other. It would be possible to substitute for every essential point in the description of the pattern an illustration from a Lions Club in place of one from Rotary, or from an Exchange Club instead of a Kiwanis Club. Variation in certain aspects of the various federations already has been noted. For example, certain pet activities are emphasized more by the clubs of one federation than by another as was indicated in the chapters describing activities. Examples of this would be the Lions presentation of white canes to blind people, Exchange's promotion of aviation, Rotary's emphasis upon international goodwill, and Kiwanis' educational activities. But no one federation has any monopoly upon these favorite activities, for the same general things are done by service clubs everywhere regardless of their federative affiliation. Again, the principle of selection of Rotary involves limiting the membership to one man from each occupation. While Kiwanis and Lions may take two, and Exchange allows a great deal of local club autonomy in this respect, still it is clear that the general principle of selection inaugurated by Rotary

constitutes the general principle of selection of service clubs everywhere.

Sectional variation in the pattern, in the writer's opinion, is a negligible factor. While his intimate knowledge of specific clubs has been confined to the Mid-Atlantic and New England areas, there are other lines of evidence to confirm this opinion. First there is the fact that they belong to the federation, which standardizes to a degree the clubs over a whole area. Again, if one examines the yearly record of club activities published by Kiwanis and Lions International there will be found listed, under each activity classification, clubs from every section of the country. The same result is obtained by examining the monthly federation magazines which chronicle the outstanding activities of clubs scattered throughout the area. Service clubs are city or town phenomena. They are also composed of business and professional men of managerial rank; hence we find them quite nearly the same in Maine or Oregon, Florida or Minnesota. One might expect that activities and attitudes of a club in the southern states in behalf of and toward Negroes will differ from that of a club in New England. But in both cases the deviation of the club and its members from the prevailing sectional opinion of the managerial, commercial class will not be great. The "international mindedness" of the Rotary Club of Middletown, Indiana, will be less than that of the Rotary Club in Middletown, Connecticut, but in both cases the clubs will be at least a little more interested in moving toward world peace than the average citizens of their respective sections of the country.

With the above considerations in mind, the position maintained here is that the degree of resemblance in sociological elements between all service clubs, regardless of their sectional location or of whether they are affiliated with Rotary, Lions, or Kiwanis federations, is sufficient to permit the description of them all in terms of a single pattern. However, variations are to be found in the pattern and some of these variations may be classified. The factors affecting these typical variations are the size of the club, and the order of its establishment in the community in relation to other service clubs.

THE SIGNIFICANT VARIATIONS AND FACTORS AFFECTING THEM
The Small and Large Clubs—The Factor of Size

The service club pattern is that of a personal face-to-face group. The extent to which any particular club conforms to the pattern is affected by the size of the club. The range in size runs all the way from fifteen to five hundred members with a large proportion having between twenty-five to seventy-five members. There is a rough correlation between size of club and size of community, but it is only a small correlation. For example, the town of Newport, New Hampshire, has 4,000 inhabitants. It has two service clubs, Rotary with twenty-five members, and Lions with thirty members, while the city of New Brunswick, New Jersey, has 35,000 people, and has four service clubs of the following sizes: Rotary sixty, Kiwanis forty, Lions thirty, Exchange twenty. The service clubs in cities of 100,000 or more population, however, tend to be larger than those in cities below 100,000, and in cities from 20,000 to 100,000 larger than in those under 20,000.

Two effects of size upon the deviation from the pattern can be discerned. The first is the effect upon the personal relationships and feeling of fellowship in the club. It is impossible for the intimacy of member to member to be as great in the large as in the small club. The second effect relates to the magnitude of the activities undertaken. The New York City Rotary Club (500 members) maintains a suite of offices in the Hotel Commodore and undertakes to maintain a vacation camp for underprivileged children, while the Kiwanis club of a neighboring small city with forty members sets as its chief project the raising of \$300 for a scholarship to the state university. The impact upon the community of the larger size club varies in terms of the relation of club size to community size. Thus a club of fifty members in a city of 25,000 has a greater influence, in promoting the community chest, than a club of twenty members in the same community. On the other hand, the Rotary Club of New York for all its hundreds of members plays a smaller rôle in its community than a club of twenty-five members in a city of 10,000 inhabitants.¹

¹ An editorial in *The Lion* (January 1931, p. 5) claims that the influence of Lions' Clubs is greater in small towns than in the great cities.

The Order of Establishment of the Club in Relation to Other Service Clubs

In this respect the variation of service clubs resembles the variation seen among chapters of fraternities on a given college campus. The oldest fraternities tend to include the most influential leaders on the campus. Every now and then a new group of upper classmen, left out of fraternity life, establishes a local fraternity which may eventually be changed into a local chapter of a national fraternity. The prestige of the older fraternities tends to be greater, and their influence upon campus life more pervasive.

The first service club established in a community tends to be composed of the more influential citizens. The reason for this is clear from the principle of selection (that is, one or two members from each line of business). Naturally every effort is made to get the most influential representative for each classification. The succeeding service clubs, following the same general principle of selection, tend to get the less influential representatives. This tendency is partially offset by another circumstance. The first service club in a community is, of course, a new idea. Many of the more eligible prospects are not convinced of the values of such an organization. Later they may regret that they did not join, and are ready for service club membership when the second club comes along. A member of the first club may resign and later decide he wants to be a service club member again. His classification may have been filled in his original club and be open in a more recent club.

Rotary clubs, belonging to the oldest organization, tend to be the first club in towns where there is a Rotary at all. This, then, explains the greater prominence which generally accrues to Rotary in most communities.

Variation Illustrated by Comparison of Service Clubs in Particular Communities

These two factors affecting variation are the outstanding ones. There are, of course, other factors affecting variation, as age composition, the presence or lack of capable leaders, the tendency of like personality types to seek each other's company, etc. The fol-

lowing accounts of the service club situation in particular communities will show the influence of some of these other factors, but they reveal most of all the significance of the order of establishment of the club in the community.

Community "X"

"X" is a town of approximately 5,000 people in New Hampshire. It has a Rotary Club, established in 1923, now having twenty-five members, and a Lions Club, established in 1930, having about thirty members.

The Rotary Club has the more influential citizens in business. It is a club with an established position in the community, since its personnel is drawn more from citizens of longer residence.

The Lions Club has a larger proportion of business men in more modest enterprises, more of whom are of more recent residence in the community. It has, however, several men who were urged to join Rotary, but didn't care to join, as well as two who left Rotary dissatisfied. It has less wealth in its membership. In this particular community, neither club is very active with welfare projects.

Community "Y"

"Y" is a city of 35,000 population with four service clubs founded in the following years: Rotary, 1921; Kiwanis, 1923; Lions, 1926; and Exchange, 1928.

The Rotary Club has about sixty members and is the largest one in the city in spite of the more limited membership plan of Rotary International. As a whole, it is composed of more influential citizens and has an average older age. The group morale is high in spite of large numbers, possibly due to capable leadership and an exceptional song leader.

The Kiwanis Club has about forty members, very few of whom are direct competitors in business. As a whole it is composed of less influential citizens, although it has two members of exceptionally important positions in the community. The age range is about the same as Rotary, but averages younger than Rotary. Its group morale is about medium, and its attendance record is equal to the average for clubs in the state.

The Lions Club in "Y" City has about thirty men who are, as a group, less influential citizens than those of either Rotary or Kiwanis. Its age composition averages lower than the other two. This club at its meetings presents an appearance of greater boisterousness than the other three. Swearing and slightly risqué stories "get by" to a greater degree. Buns and olives are thrown about. There is no preacher or "Y" secretary in the group. This particular club was so loud and "rough" in its behavior that it stands out uniquely among the clubs visited. It does represent, however, if somewhat extremely, a type variation of service club which might be labelled "the boisterous type," distinguished by its lack of decorum.

The Exchange Club in "Y" is composed of a little over twenty men who are, to a large extent, between thirty and forty years of age. While, as a group, they are less influential citizens than either Rotary or Kiwanis, they are "up-and-coming" citizens. Both the small size and the more homogeneous age grouping makes this club's morale high. There appears to be a more pervasive fellowship among its members.

Community "Z"

"Z" is a community of about 5,000, located in a rural county of New Jersey. It has two service clubs, Kiwanis and Rotary. Differing from the two communities just discussed, the Kiwanis Club was the first one established and it existed for several years before a Rotary Club was established. The Rotary Club was less than a year old when the writer visited the community. The average age of the Kiwanians was fifty-three, of the Rotarians thirty-seven. The secretary of the Rotary Club was a young merchant under twenty-five. The Kiwanis Club had had a membership well over forty but had dwindled down considerably when Rotary started. Its attendance was relatively poor. The Rotary Club, young in life and membership, prided itself on its full year of one hundred per cent attendance (including "making up").

Communities "X" and "Y" reveal the typical situation. Community "Z" helps to confirm the significance of the order of establishment of the club as a factor in variation.

THE SMALLER FEDERATIONS OF SERVICE CLUBS

The smaller federations of service clubs reveal a wider variation in their pattern. In fact, one or two federations, Torch and Round Table, which were listed earlier, might properly fall into another category than that of the type we are describing. The following brief discussion of the variations exhibited by these lesser federations is based upon pamphlets furnished the writer by these federations, except in the instances where the source is otherwise specifically mentioned.

Principle of Selection

Cooperative Club International, while adhering to the general principle of a single member for each occupational classification, has, in its suggested classification chart, a separate classification for automobile dealers at various price levels of cars, the cars under \$1,000, those in the \$1,000-2,000 class, etc. Similarly, with regard to other occupations, it subdivides. In the legal profession, for example, there are five categories: Commercial Attorney, Corporation Attorney, Federal Tax, Patent, and Trial. Cosmopolitan International claims that "both employer and employee take membership in Cosmopolitan. Our classification plan admits both under proper restrictions." One of the most interesting deviations from the general process of selection is found in the Association of Twenty-Thirty Clubs whose membership is limited to those twenty to thirty years of age. Upon his thirty-first birthday, a member is automatically dropped.

Bond of Union

Since our information concerning these lesser federations is limited to their own pamphlets, nothing can be stated concerning the variations in interests which actually underlie these associations in comparison with The Big Three. It is, however, appropriate to note the franker appeal to the interest of business advantage² in the literature of two of these federations. Cosmopolitan, for example, in urging men to join one of its clubs, writes:

² For comparison with The Big Three, see page 90.

To become a member of the Cosmopolitan Club costs but about \$25.

NOT to become a member may cost you hundreds—yes thousands of dollars. . . .

Here is an illustration. Suppose you are earning, or have an income of \$250 to \$500 a month. Then suppose that the practical instruction, the personal and business helps and the intelligent cooperation rendered by the club, add only twenty per cent additional each month to your salary or income. Under such circumstances, by NOT becoming a member you would LOSE EACH MONTH much more than the full cost of membership.³

Again Cooperative writes, in part, as an answer⁴ to their own question, "What advantages does Cooperative offer which other service clubs do not offer?"

First, the exchange of business among its members. This commercial advantage logically results from the acquaintanceship, the friendship, and the resultant trust and confidence built up. Second, the Mutual Service Plan whereby the Cooperator in good standing, regardless of where he may be located, may enjoy certain definite, tangible, practical services having to do especially with his business, traveling, etc. . . .⁴

The external aspects of the bond of union also show variation. With reference to stated objects, Optimist may serve as an example in its aim "To develop Optimism as a Philosophy of Life." Each new federation must, of course, have its own peculiar slogan: Cooperative, "Make Life Worth While"; Cosmopolitan, "Think"; and Optimist, "Friend of the Boy."

On paper, all of the divergences of these minor federations are not sufficiently convincing to establish any fundamental uniqueness for them. They are all service clubs. The above discussion of their variations has omitted certain aspects of the pattern of group study. The inner bond and the relationships cannot be discussed in the absence of intimate knowledge of specific clubs. Their welfare activities as described in their monthly magazines read very much like those portrayed in *The Rotarian*, *The Lion*, and *The Kiwanis Magazine*.

³ *The Cosmopolitan Idea*, p. 18.

⁴ *The Cooperative Club International: What It Is and What It Stands for*.

Torch and Round Table

As has been indicated, Torch and Round Table are the federations which do present a wider variation from the typical service club pattern. Round Table, as its name suggests, claims to draw its inspiration from the ancient legend of King Arthur and his Knights. It conducts its meetings with more ceremony. It initiates new members with a ceremony called Reception into Knighthood, the wording of which presents a curious blend of the imagined jargon of the legendary days and contemporary terminology. As distinguished, however, from fraternal orders, these ceremonies are not secret, since the writer was sent the initiation ritual. In all other respects, Round Table is a service club. It is a weekly luncheon club, it recounts activities in the community similar to the others, and its motto is very like that of Rotary, "He who seeks to serve another best serves himself." This superimposition of the ritual, ceremony, and terminology of the Arthurian legend upon what is otherwise the typical service club pattern yields an artificial and anachronistic result.

Torch International disclaims filial relation in the goodly fraternity of service clubs. It claims to exist more frankly for the benefit of its own members, and further claims that that benefit is more cultural than sociable. Its membership comprises only professional men. Judging from its monthly magazine, *The Torch*, Torch is indeed the "high-brow" of luncheon clubs. In the April 1932 issue one finds these articles: "The Mosaic Code in the Light of Modern Law," "Vergil, the Lover of his Land and People," "The Mechanistic Theory of the Universe." The accounts of activity on the part of the member clubs concern addresses given to them, the titles of which reflect a higher level of cultural interests. There is lacking entirely in this issue of their magazine any of "the great service to the community," or the "boosting the town" activity which characterizes the other service club magazines, as well as the ballyhoo of attendance records so noticeable in the magazines of the other federations.

CHANGE

Whenever a group continues to exist, change in some degree is inevitable. For example, when a new set of officers is elected, as in the case of the service club each year, this effects some degree of change. The new officials may be more or less energetic than their predecessors, thus affecting the vitality of the group activity. Or a crisis in the community, such as that brought about by the necessity for large-scale relief of unemployed in the years 1930-1933, creates a situation suggestive of activity for a group with an interest in community welfare. Thus far it can be seen that changes may be influenced by factors internal and external. The first instance given illustrates the internal condition; the latter the external condition. The internal conditions of change are, then, changes in personnel composition of the group and changes in leadership. A service club secretary says that his club is trying to get in more younger men believing that this will increase the activity of the group. A change in the average educational status of the group will affect the type of speakers which interests the group. From the external side there are conditions of a critical nature in the community, such as a strike, an economic depression, or municipal governmental corruption. Or there are conditions of a more normal character.

This analysis of changing influences in terms of external and internal conditions is further complicated in the local service club by the influence of the federation with which it is affiliated. To the local club itself this influence is an external factor; and in so far as it expresses itself with regard to the life of the club, it affects only the club. For example, if the federation officials decide to carry on an attendance drive for the entire federation, this influence affects only the club itself. If, however, the federation lays down more definite prescriptions as to just what type of political activity is taboo, such an influence may affect the community through the impact (or, in this case, lack of impact) of the club upon the community.

A further question arises which concerns the change an association may show in a given direction over a number of years. It

would appear that this type of change is more characteristic of associations with definite and specific objectives and interests. At least, measurement of the degree of progress with which a group moves toward the achievement of its aims and desires may be more clearly applied the more specifically those aims are stated. In other associations no discernible direction may be noted. The writer has been unable to discover any marked direction of change as characteristic of either the local service club or the movement, except for the process of growth referred to in the brief history of the service club movement.

It is difficult to discover any generalized natural history of a service club. For example, do we note any continuous change in the enthusiasm of members for the club? Here we are confronted with the relatively rapid turnover in membership, which means that the membership is composed of men whose association dates all the way from charter day, perhaps ten years, to those who have been in a year or two. Or again, can we see any trend of change in the character or extent of service to the community? Here perhaps the only generalization that can be made is that the club develop some "pet" welfare activity which it continues to pursue, support of a boys' camp, support of a clinic for underprivileged children, or provision of a scholarship to a university.

So far as there is any trend of change in the local club, it appears to be cyclical rather than evolutionary. A new president is elected each year. This constitutes an opportunity to reaffirm the objectives of the club, to ask for better attendance and more active participation in the activities. The new president usually has some new aims with reference to either intra- or extra-club activity. From this early period of greater stimulation, the club settles down gradually to a more normal routine, declining in vitality to some degree, to be reinvigorated again by the succeeding régime.

ORIGIN

A new service club typically starts in the following manner. An already established Rotary, Kiwanis, or Exchange Club, either on its own initiative or at the suggestion of the district governor, interests acquaintances in a nearby community in starting a club

in their city. A list of prospects is drawn up. They are visited by local men and the outside Rotarians, and asked to come together for a meeting. After the organization meeting, the club meets for a few weeks in order to test its capacity to continue before being granted a charter in the goodly fellowship of the International. At the end of the probationary period, Charter Night is held. On this occasion, Rotarians from all parts of the area come to the community—the sponsoring club en masse, the district governor and many past and present officers—to welcome the club and to impress upon the new initiates the significance of their new associational affiliation.

New Lions Clubs, as has been pointed out before, more frequently are organized by the salaried field representatives of Lions International.

GROWTH AND MAINTENANCE

The normal club grows in size from its original charter list during the first year. It is maintained by the pursuit of activities both intra- and extra-club as indicated in Chapters I-IV, and all the factors in the bond of union discussed in Chapter VII. Most of the officials interviewed—presidents, secretaries, and district governors—feel that an interesting program and some “welfare” or civic project are essential to maintain a club. They assert that the purely “social” club will run down, and eventually break up.

BREAK-UP

Because of the fact that a comparatively small number of service clubs have disbanded, it is not possible to analyze the conditions leading to the break-ups. In reply to the author’s query on this matter Rotary International wrote as follows:

Less than two per cent of all Rotary Clubs ever established have gone out of existence. Some of these have gone out of existence simply because of ennui. Others . . . because of the financial stress to which they have been subjected in recent years. Others have been established in towns which were more or less boom towns and have subsequently become more or less defunct economically. . . . Many were in other countries.

Kiwanis International replied to the same question as follows:

It is somewhat difficult to make any specific interpretation of the reasons why clubs fail, in the comparatively few cases where the charters have been revoked. [The letter was accompanied by a list of ninety-three clubs whose charters have been revoked.] Generally speaking, I think it has been in the main a lack of leadership. Other reasons include internal friction that has destroyed the spirit and has weakened the club structure to a point where it could not continue. In a few instances the problem of finding . . . a desirable meeting place, and a place which could furnish the luncheon or dinner, has had a direct bearing in the last year. Of course, too, there has been the economic conditions that we have to contend with, bringing with them problems of a financial nature.

A past governor of a Rotary district volunteered the following opinions on the subject of break-up. Two clubs were disbanded during his régime. In both cases he attributed it to lack of wisdom in originally chartering them. They were located in small urban centers in the midst of a metropolitan region. He visited one club and found only three or four men there. The others were "making up" at a nearby large city club. The members did this very frequently because the larger city club had more interesting programs than their own little club could arrange. An additional factor in the other club was the difficulty of securing a suitable place for their luncheon meetings. The roadhouse where they met was objectionable to many members.

In conclusion, a brief history of the "T" Lions's Club is presented because it is the only completed club with which the writer has come in contact. In this account the three states of origin, growth and maintenance, decline and break-up, are noted.

The "T" Club

"T" is a college town whose life centers around the college, and in which there is no manufacturing. There is no other service club in the town except the Lions Club we are describing.

The "T" Club was founded four years ago by field organizers of Lions International. In the community there was a man who had been a member in a Lions Club in another city. He furnished the organizer a list of twenty-four prospects, all of whom were sold

the idea of being Lions. The club grew very rapidly in number, reaching over fifty at the end of the first year. The chief activity was the annual Christmas party for the poorer children in the community when toys, food, and free movies were dispensed. In addition, the club subscribed to worthy projects for the underprivileged in other communities, "T" itself being a rather prosperous small city. The club was interested in building a community swimming pool and finally had to give it up because it was impossible to find a place for the pool, which would meet with the approval of the health authorities. After about two years, the interest of the members began to wane, and it became difficult to get the members out to the luncheons. Recently, the president secured a very outstanding speaker to address the club. There were only twelve men present, much to the president's chagrin. At the next meeting he berated those present in vehement tone. He got so angry that he finally said he would entertain a motion to disband the club. A motion to this effect was offered and passed. And so the "T" Club ended.

The immediate occasion for the break-up was the incident just cited. It is entirely possible that if the president, whose ire had been aroused, no doubt justly, had been forced to be absent for the next meeting or two, this club would still have been in existence. But there were conditions favorable to break-up which had been present for some time. One of these was the fact that "T" is a prosperous community, thus affording less obvious opportunity for community service. For example, there are only three blind people in the town. And aid to the blind is a pet welfare activity of Lions. Again, there was internal friction. It arose over having Ladies Night because Ted's wife was a Catholic, and Hal's wife drank too much. Part of the difficulty goes back to the manner of starting the club. High-pressure salesmanship procured the original members and fostered unusually rapid growth. There were some members who paid their dues regularly for three years without even coming to the meetings.

The sequel to the description of this club's history is that a new "T" Lions Club has just been reorganized, recruited from a small

number of the old. Three policies are being adopted by the new administration to maintain the new association: first and foremost, to select new members slowly and carefully; second, not to have any speakers at all for a few months; and third, in deference to economic conditions, to reduce dues from a dollar a week to a dollar a month.

CHAPTER IX

INTERPRETATION

WE turn now from discussing what the service club is to the question of how it has come to be. Social phenomena have a characteristic which distinguishes them from physical phenomena, namely, that they are experienced phenomena. For this reason the social scientist has the advantage in the fact that he is a social human being studying social human beings. He is consequently able to experience the phenomena he is describing, or vicariously to experience them, using as reference points the experiences in his own life which come closest to those involved in the social relationships he is studying. The writer, it may be repeated, has been a member of a service club.

Some forms of human association are an indispensable requisite for human life. The minimum social relationship for any individual is a relationship to a community. As the area of community has enlarged, there has been a corresponding differentiation within the social structure involving the emergence of a large number of group relationships, each one of which is correspondingly narrower in scope. The particular kind of associations which develop within the social structure arises because of needs which a particular set of conditions creates. It is our task to discover what conditions have created the need for such an association as the service club and then to relate the various elements of the club's pattern to those conditions.

The position is not to be taken that the service club as a type of association in its peculiar pattern which we have outlined was inevitable under the conditions we are to point out. It is quite probable that aleatory elements enter into the picture. That associations formed by business and professional men as such should develop was inevitable. But that the particular basis of selection which constitutes the single most unique element in the service club pattern

should have been adopted is conceivably an accidental factor—the product of mental experimentation on the part of Paul Harris and his associates, or the original members of the old Boosters Club of Detroit. However, among the various experiments in new forms of association some fail and some succeed. Here again it is possible that the success or failure of the new forms may be influenced by certain factors incidental to the new conditions which they purport to meet. The lack of adequate leadership might be such an incidental factor. But in the long run those new forms which fulfil needs left unsatisfied under the particular conditions tend to survive. To apply this to our specific problem, the argument of our interpretation is as follows: face-to-face associations of business men for fellowship and the expression of civic and charitable impulses arose out of certain conditions attending the rapid change from a rural and village society to a town and city society, particularly as those changes affected the lives of business and professional men. The particular form of business men's association known as the service club, originated experimentally, thrived and flourished successfully because it met those conditions with some adequacy.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SERVICE CLUB

Because the interpretation is based on conditions general to American civilization and to its urban areas, some facts concerning the distribution of service clubs are required.

The data presented here on the distribution of the service club within the United States cover Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions which comprise eighty-three per cent of the total of all service clubs in United States.¹ Two separate distributions are made: a geographic distribution by states, and a distribution of the service club communities according to population size classes.

Distribution by States of Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs

Within the United States, the service club is very generally distributed sectionally. There is no state which does not have at least sixteen clubs of the three federations, and none which does not have at least one club in each federation.

¹ See Table I.

The map on page 120 shows the distribution of The Big Three service clubs throughout the United States by states in 1933. The map was prepared by the writer on the basis of the directories of each federation which lists all their clubs. The numbers on each state represent the total number of Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions clubs located within it. The shading represents the relative density of service clubs in each state. A specific density ratio was calculated for each state by dividing the number of clubs by the number of incorporated places over 1,000 in the state according to the United States census of 1930. For example, Delaware has sixteen communities over 1,000 in population and has sixteen service clubs. Its ratio is therefore 1.00. This does not mean actually that every one of these cities has a club, because some have two or three. The densities thus calculated range from Arizona, with a density ratio of 2.13, to Louisiana with .70.² The whole array of densities was then divided for representation on the map into three groups: high density 2.13-1.30; medium 1.29-.90; and low .89-.70.³ The most significant facts which this distribution reveals are: first, the very general distribution of the service clubs throughout the states; and second, an apparent westward bias. Only two states west of the Mississippi, Colorado and Missouri, are rated low density; and only one state to the east of this river, Florida, is rated high density.

Distribution According to Size of Community

Table IX shows the distribution according to size of communities of Rotary, Lions, and Kiwanis Clubs and the combined total of these three largest federations. The size of community was taken from the *World Almanac* of 1933 which lists the population of all incorporated places of 3,000. All municipalities having service clubs which were not listed in the *Almanac* were placed in the category, "below 3,000 or unincorporated." This gives a slightly untrue picture as there are places unincorporated, particularly in New England, over 3,000 population.

² The New England states, especially New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island are difficult to compare with the rest of the states because many of their larger places are not incorporated.

³ A table of the ratios for each state is contained in the Appendix, pp. 172-3.

DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICE CLUBS IN THE UNITED STATES ROTARY, KIWANIS AND LIONS COMBINED

- 1933 -

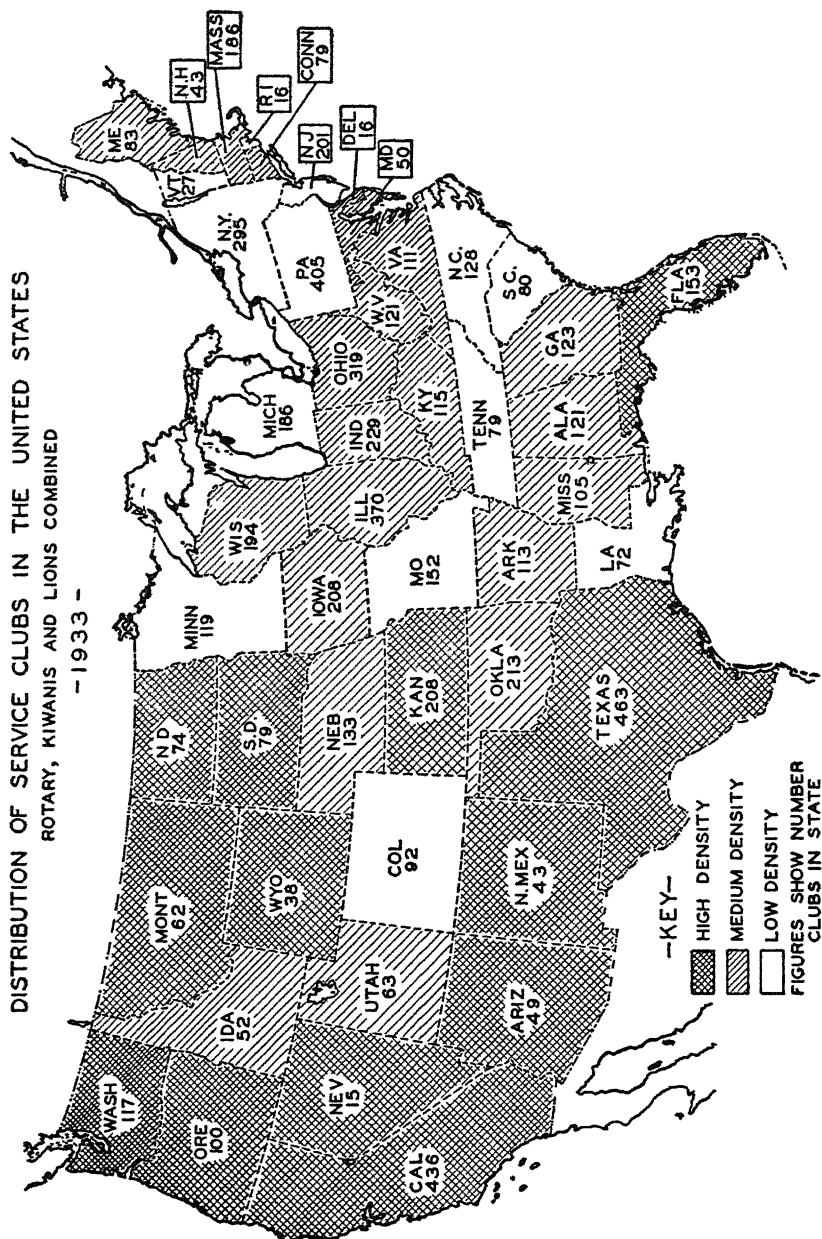


TABLE IX
DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICE CLUB CITIES IN 1932 ACCORDING TO POPULATION CLASSES

POPULATION OF CITY	TOTAL		ROTARY		KIWANIS		LIONS	
	No. Clubs	%	No. Clubs	%	No. Clubs	%	No. Clubs	%
100,000 or over*	403	6	94	3.5	140	7.6	169	6.9
50,000-99,999	335	5	94	3.5	129	7.0	112	4.5
25,000-49,999	455	7	154	6.5	170	9.3	131	5.3
10,000-24,999	1107	17	459	19.2	373	20.0	276	11.3
5,000- 9,999	1085	16	508	21.3	305	17.0	272	11.2
3,000- 4,999	847	13	390	16.3	247	14.1	210	8.9
Below 3,000 or unincorporated†	2414	36	688	29.7	460	25	1266	51.9
	6646	100.0	2387	100.0	1823	100.0	2436	100.0

* Wherever there was more than one Kiwanis or Lions Club in the same city the total population was divided by the number of clubs. i.e. New York City has nine Kiwanis Clubs. The population of New York City exceeding 900,000, all were placed in 100,000 or over category.

† Some communities tabulated as unincorporated, particularly in New England, are over 3,000 in population.

A comparison of the percentage of The Big Three service clubs found in the population size classes of Table IX with the percentage of all incorporated places in the United States falling in these categories shows that the larger the community the more likely it is to have a service club. This comparison is set forth in Table X. In the third column is expressed the ratio of the percentage of service clubs found in each class with the percentage of incorporated places in the same class. By means of these ratios, it is shown that a city of 100,000 or over has eight times the probability of having a service club over an incorporated place under 3,000, and that a city in the 25-49,999 class has twice the probability of having a service club as compared with a municipality in the 5-9,999 class.

TABLE X
COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICE CLUB PLACES BY POPULATION CLASSES WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL INCORPORATED PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES IN SIMILAR CLASSES

POPULATION CLASS OF PLACES	PERCENTAGE OF BIG THREE CLUBS LOCATED IN PLACES OF CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF INCORPORATED PLACES IN U.S. IN THESE CLASSES	RATIO
100,000 or over	6	1.5	4.00
50,000-99,999	5	1.6	3.13—
25,000-49,999	7	3.0	2.33
10,000-24,999	17	9.7	1.75
5,000- 9,999	16	13.6	1.10
3,000- 4,999	13	{ 70.6	{ .50
Below 3,000	36		

However, in view of the fact that our interpretation has been based upon urban conditions, it is essential to examine the frequency of location of service clubs in cities of under 5,000.

First, political communities and natural communities do not coincide. It is quite probable that many of the smaller communities are actually located in "conurbations,"⁴ and are therefore essentially urban in character. Second, some New England towns are really small cities, as Claremont, New Hampshire, which has 10,000 population. Third, the community name given may in some instances not correspond with the political name of which it is a part. In such a case, though a very large community, it would have been tabulated in the 3,000 class. And finally, Table IX indicates that the percentage of Lions Clubs in the smaller size category is much greater than in the case of Rotary and Kiwanis. It is quite evident that Lions Clubs are essentially the same as the clubs of the other two federations, and are therefore to be interpreted in the same way. It has been previously stated that of these three federations, Lions has gone in for promotion by paid field representatives to the largest degree. It is possible, therefore, that the larger number of Lions Clubs in very small cities is partly the result of artificial stimulation.

THE SERVICE CLUB AND AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Many writers have noted that Americans have a penchant for forming clubs and associations. In the American society this tendency frequently has been referred to by characterizing the typical business man as a great "joiner." Sinclair Lewis portrays this characteristic in *Babbitt* and his friends. The Beards have noted this trait in the following lines:

Paralleling the extension of manufacturing and selling which gave uniformity to life from one end of the continent to the other was a multiplication in the number of associations for profit, pleasure, diversion and improvement. The tendency of Americans to unite with their fellows for varied purposes—a tendency noted a hundred years earlier by De Tocqueville—now became a general mania as the means of com-

⁴ A new term employed by sociologists to designate clusters of cities between which there is no "break."

munication and the routine of economic activity grew to be national in scope.⁵

In explanation of this American trait, the Beards have to say:

When social philosophers tried to unearth the roots of the ardor for association in the United States they could not advance far beyond the explanation offered by De Tocqueville, namely, that in a democracy which professes equality, the individual without special titles, riches, distinctions, or gifts feels an oppressive sense of weakness alone in a vast mass of averages; and thus bewildered he seeks strength and confidence in an affiliation with kindred spirits. Unquestionably the levelling modes of democracy, intensified by the technology of standardization in mass production and distribution, accounted for a large part of the federations and super-federations which knit the American society into a criss-cross of a thousand unities.⁶

Accepting as important the factors which Beard quotes from De Tocqueville—the levelling influence of democracy and the machine—students of society can go a little beyond the eminent Frenchman, in explaining the influences which have “knit the American society into a criss-cross of a thousand unities.” An additional factor is a very obvious one, but one whose significance is frequently underestimated. We refer to the dynamic character of the American civilization. It is this also which leaves the American bewildered. In the America of the 'nineties, the family, the neighborhood and the church provided a reasonably adequate socio-psychological security and recognition. But the post-war American finds his neighborhood has vanished, his family life less stable, and his church so chained by its own traditions as to be almost hopelessly outmoded. In the midst of this situation, multitudes of new bases of association arise, through which the American hopes to find for himself a system of social relationships adequate to meet his needs. The service club emerged as an answer to some of the modern conditions for that particular segment of the population known as the business and professional segment. It is to be interpreted as a phenomenon of the urban society and the business class.

⁵ C. A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, Macmillan, 1927, p. 730.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 732.

CONDITIONS IN URBAN SOCIETY RELATED TO SERVICE CLUBS

There is one outstanding fact which creates two personal problems for the city-dwelling business man: namely, that the larger the community, the greater the number of impersonal contacts the individual has. And the correlative fact is that the personal contacts that the individual has are of a more casual nature. This is attested to by practically all sociologists of the city. Sorokin and Zimmerman write:

Only an infinitesimal part of the persons with whom an urban individual interacts are personally known to him. The greater part of them are only "numbers," "addresses," "clients," "customers," "patients," "readers," "laborers," or "employers."⁷

Anderson and Lindeman tell the story of "two professional social workers who met and found common interests at a conference in a middle western state. Only when starting home did they discover that both had offices in the same building in New York, and lived in the same suburb."⁸

The necessity of a small circle of intimate friends for adequate human existence is also a well attested psychological proposition. The individual without such a circle of friends feels himself lost and alone amidst the thousands about him. Some groups of people who are interested in his triumphs, however petty they be, and share his sorrows; some people to whom he is important, are essential. Behavior calculated to bring notoriety, such as tree-sitting, marathon dancing, etc., may be interpreted as pathological manifestations of individuals who lack an adequate group to whom the importance and worth of one's own self is felt.

Thus, this fact of the impersonality and anonymity characteristic of urban society creates two problems for the urban dweller: the problem of securing an adequate circle of personal friends; and the problem of feeling oneself a recognized part of a community. The popularity of the service club can be explained partially as a response to these two needs.

⁷ *Principles of Urban-Rural Sociology*, Henry Holt, 1929, p. 51.

⁸ *Urban Sociology*, Crofts, 1930, p. 209.

The friendly character of the relationship of member to member at least in part mitigates the impersonality of relationships. The club group provides weekly and sometimes more frequent contact with a relatively small group of agreeable companions. In the service club, the personality of the individual gets self-expression and recognition. Holding office, working on committees, speaking of his own business, being consulted by others about his own particular occupation and its problems, provide an opportunity for his own individual recognition and self-expression. His marriage, the birth of a child, his election to public office, his promotion to a better position are times for congratulation by his fellow members. His illness or that of a member of his family, his failure in business are times for condolence by the club members.

The second problem for the individual created by the urban condition of impersonality is that the consciousness of communityship on the part of the individual citizen becomes more difficult to perceive and express. In the larger community the sense of belonging to the community becomes more attenuated. The social segregation of individuals into ethnic, religious, and occupational groupings tends to operate against community solidarity.

The high rate of mobility of American society intensifies this condition. The number of individuals in contemporary American urban communities who were born outside of the community where they now reside is high. Table LI in Carpenter's *Sociology of City Life*⁹ shows that in 1920 the percentage of individuals fifteen years of age and over who were born outside the state of residence was 36.1. The personal experience of the writer illustrates this situation. In ten years since his graduation from college he has resided in five different American communities. As a teacher of sociology, his interest in community affairs and his training for effective citizenship should be above the average. But this constant shifting from one community to another has meant that he has not remained long enough in any one city to acquaint himself with it sufficiently to pursue his civic interest in any adequate degree. Still further such community consciousness has been lim-

⁹ Longmans, Green, 1931, p. 302.

ited in four of these five places to the "college community" as distinct from the whole community.

Membership in a service club aids in the development of a "place root," of making a person feel a part of the community. The acquaintance of twenty to a hundred representative business and professional men provides him with a more inclusive picture of his city or large town. Nearly all projects for the betterment of the community are presented to the various service clubs for discussion. In case the club wishes to encourage a project as a service club member he is given a chance to share in its achievement.

Another aspect of this rôle of service club in the development of community consciousness needs to be pointed out. Not only does his membership in the service club provide the man with a medium through which he may willingly give vent to his desire to be a more effective citizen but also his club relationship acts as a compelling force in this direction. As a relatively anonymous individual in a city, one can shut the door in the face of a community chest solicitor, but not as a service club member. To escape embarrassment and reflection upon his altruistic sentiments, the service club member must contribute time and money for every respectable community project.

Thus far it has been pointed out that the service club aids in satisfying certain interests of the individual which tend to be frustrated by the impersonal nature of urban society. The rôle of the club in mitigating these urban conditions is, however, limited.

The Limitations of the Service Club in Meeting the Conditions of Urban Society

Limitations upon fellowship

The president of a large metropolitan club emphasized the opportunity for fellowship as a reason for belonging to the club. Seeing the other members once a week, he said, was a great advantage for cultivating fellowship. To the writer, reared in a New England town, it is a pathetic commentary upon modern urban society that meeting certain men once almost every week forms a basis for a friendly relationship. Unless the club contact serves as a means of finding three or four congenial acquaintances which are then built

into friendship involving extra-club relationships, it can but very inadequately fulfil this need. It has already been pointed out that when the members interviewed were asked how many intimate friends the service club has made for them, the number was quite few. The club, then, furnishes a fellowship of acquaintances for men who know each other, but who do not usually invite club members home for social occasions, or go to the theater together. The pattern, however, calls for friendliness. The first-name norm, the banter, the general familiarity of the luncheon meeting are in some degree forced and unreal. In calling each other by their first names, slapping backs, shaking hands, playing pranks on one another they are straining to create an impression of enduring friendship in a society arranged only for acquaintanceship; they are groping for a spontaneous, intimate neighborliness which the monster, city, has all but destroyed.

*Limitation of the Service Club as
Means of Expressing Communityship*

The illusion of representativeness which the service club cherishes has been referred to previously. It is evidenced in service club pamphlets which refer to the occupational classification basis of selecting members as giving a cross-section of the community. Again, it is manifested in club magazine articles, as well as in the testimony of members that they hear speeches on many sides of public questions and business problems, on education, art, and travel. The data presented in the section dealing with the process of selection leads to the conclusion that the membership of the typical club is composed of a group of men who, by virtue of their managerial rank in commerce and industry, are to a marked degree homogeneous in their attitudes toward community problems. The material offered in the section dealing with the luncheon speeches indicates the fact that these addresses buttress their common attitudes far more than they challenge them. Still further, their service activities have been shown to steer a course safely clear of the fundamental questions involved in all so-called charity work, as exemplified by the question: Would not the establishment of a minimum standard of living remove the necessity for the spas-

modic services which they playfully render to the underprivileged? Thus the entire pattern of the service club, woven about a selective principle which automatically limits their attitudes and activities to "safe and sane channels," instead of giving them a group relationship which represents the community, affords them a fellowship which they conceive to give them a cross-section of the community, but which, in truth, shields them from facing the realities of the diverse group consciousnesses to be found in any American city.

CHAPTER X

INTERPRETATION (Continued)

THE SERVICE CLUB AS A PHENOMENON OF BUSINESS LIFE

THAT the service club is a phenomenon of the business segment of our society is apparent from the entire pattern of the club, from its principle of selection, from its aims and objectives, and from its activities. It is not primarily related to industrialism. Industrialism and commercialism react upon each other but are not so closely related as urbanism and commercialism, as Carpenter¹ has indicated. There are manufacturers in the service club but there are four or five merchants to each manufacturer.

The significance of certain conditions in business life which throw light upon an interpretation of the service club can be understood only by realizing the peculiarly dominating position which business holds in our cultural pattern. Trading has been a part of the universal culture pattern from time immemorial. But our civilization, like all others, has certain dominant traits which give it distinctive characterization, and one of those traits is business. So dominant a place does business hold that many writers, such as James T. Adams, describe ours as a business civilization.² One does not have to swallow whole the vitriolic polemics of Upton Sinclair without seeing that the manipulators of credit and gold, the bankers, are the real controlling forces in our social system. That the pulpit, the classroom, the editorial office, and the legislative assembly are far more subservient to business interests in the modern capitalistic era than ever before is clear. And the United States today presents the high point in the development of that system. But there is not only the physical dominance of business in America, but also the equally pervasive spiritual and cultural

¹ N. Carpenter, *Sociology of City Life*, Longmans, Green, 1931, p. 26.

² J. T. Adams, *Our Business Civilization*, A. & C. Boni, 1929.

dominance. Our idols are business men; our measure of success is the size of one's income; our chief interest is the acquisition of private profit; our educational curricula add courses in the art of making a living and subtract courses in the art of living itself.

Conditions in Business Life Related to the Service Club

From this general background of the place which business plays in our social scheme must be selected certain particular conditions prevailing in business life which provide clues to an interpretation of the service club. The conditions to be analyzed are grouped under the heading of minor and major conditions, indicating their relative degrees of importance. The minor conditions are the increasing separation of the place of work from the place of residence, the increasing specialization of business enterprise, the impersonality of business contacts, and the tempo of contemporary business life.

Distance between Office and Home

The business man tends to an increasing degree to live farther and farther away from his home, and to a considerable extent this distance involves different municipalities. The distance itself results inevitably in his eating his noonday meal away from home, and the political divisions make him a citizen of two communities.

The habit of eating luncheon "in town" is a situation favorable to the development of luncheon clubs. The noon hour becomes a convenient time for meeting. Utilized by salesmen for establishing contacts with customers, and by temporary groups or committees as an easy way to get people together, it finally becomes institutionalized by the service club. Regularity in attendance has been pointed out as a paramount obligation of the member. This regularity could never be maintained except for this condition. There are service clubs which meet regularly for dinner, but they are for the most part located in the smaller communities where neither the distance between home and work nor the habit of lunching away from home is so conspicuous.³ But not only is the noon hour a con-

³ Of the fifty-nine Kiwanis Clubs in the State of New Jersey (1930), sixteen met weekly for the evening meal. The largest community of the sixteen is a city of forty thousand. The other fifteen are all under 20,000.

venient time for meeting, but also the opportunity for lunching under such pleasant conditions appeals to many men who, otherwise, all too easily fall into the habit of making their lunch a gastronomic crime. One Lion member put it this way: "Before I joined the Lions I used to run over to the drug store, eat a sandwich and drink a cup of coffee, and be back at the office in half an hour. Now, at least once a week, I have a pleasant, leisurely lunch hour, more definitely relieving the tension of business, relaxing with fun."

The separation of home community from office community also makes the modern business man a citizen of two communities, in fact, if not in terms of the polling lists. He has, therefore, the problem of keeping himself in touch with the public affairs of both places. He may not be particularly interested in city governments or welfare activities in general but he is at least bound to be interested in tax rates and traffic regulations in both of his communities. His service club relationship gives him an organized channel through which he brings some pressure to bear upon his unofficial community. Although officially a resident of a suburban municipality, he casts his vote in his business municipality service club for or against petitions to be sent to city authorities relating either to his business, civic, or philanthropic interest. The value of the service club in this respect is not easy to measure. Just how far city governments are influenced by service club petitions varies widely, of course, from locality to locality. But when several clubs in the same city unite upon a proposition it represents considerable strength. Against this, however, must be placed the fact that the service club, as was indicated in the section describing the civic and political activities, does not take sides in serious partisan issues.

Specialization of Business

The second minor condition of business life is the increasing specialization of business and professional enterprises. This condition makes it increasingly difficult for the business man to know much about the business of other men. Occupational talks explain-

ing the inside operations of various concerns are given by men outside the club. How a stock exchange operates and a bank is run, the chemistry of perfumery, the hardware business, or how a newspaper is printed every day are typical subjects for the luncheon speech. The principle of selection in the service club, as has been seen, provides a contact with men in different lines of business. Frequently members address the club upon their respective vocations, and in the face-to-face talk about the luncheon table, members discuss their various problems and successes.

Anonymity in Business

The third minor condition of business life related to the service club is an aspect of the general anonymity of urban society. It is the impersonality of business contacts. Both to the seller and to the buyer the business transaction in the modern society is increasingly an impersonal matter. The service club furnishes a physician, a lawyer, and a merchant in nearly every line of goods a member might desire, whom one knows personally, and with whom one is on friendly terms. The writer, once a small town boy, has found shopping in his own city more pleasurable since he joined his own club, and would know better where to turn for professional service.

The Tempo of Modern Urban Business Life

The frenzied tempo of American urban and town life seems to afford its citizens little time to do the things they say they want to do. This is true particularly in the business and professional groups. Try to get six business and professional men together at the same time to discuss some civic project or topic of cultural interest and see how difficult it is. If business is good, they cannot afford to let down; if it's bad, they have to be on the job every minute. Evenings are for the family either in the home or on social visits involving the wives. It is easy to get American business men to join organizations; it is more difficult to get them to sustain an active participating interest in them. The service club is, it appears, outstanding in its capacity to maintain an active participating interest in its membership. Its attendance records outstrip any voluntary associations which the writer knows. Its success in

this matter is attributable to its adaptability to the tempo of modern business life. The business man needs leisurely relaxation and yearns for a little culture, but he must have them organized and he must have them quick. The service club furnishes luncheon, fellowship, and a smattering of culture, all in seventy-five minutes. And the meetings close on time. In the accounts of meetings in the opening chapter, the pressure of time is noted. Club business must be transacted during the meal; the speaker never has quite time for his full speech; the adjournment is frequently hurried.

The Major Conditions

More important than these minor conditions related to our business civilization are some more fundamental conditions in business life which prove more significant in an interpretation of the service club. Each of these conditions creates a need for the independent business man which the service club in part attempts to fulfil. These conditions and the corresponding needs are as follows: (1) the competitive relationships of business men to one another create a need for mitigating the sharpness of their relationships, (2) the actual dominating position of business men in our society requires the dignifying of business, (3) the defense of the position of business interests requires an ethical justification of the system in terms of the general social welfare.

1. Mitigation of Competitive Struggle

An individualistic economic system where competition is the process and pecuniary profit is the goal is a system in which the relationships of independent business men to each other in their business dealings are predominantly competitive, antagonistic and unfriendly. There are three types of relationships in business life. One is the relationship of direct competitors which is obviously antagonistic. Another is the relationship involving the general competition among all sellers for the consumer's dollar. A choice between buying an oil heater and an electric refrigerator brings the sellers of each article in competition at the consumer's door. And last is the relationship of the individual merchant to the whole business enterprise of his community. Here the relationship in

the acquisitive system is inherently non-cooperative. The business man, if he is to survive, must attempt to sell everything he can without reference to its value to society or effect upon other business enterprises. It is only in a functional economic system, such as prevails in aim at least in Soviet Russia, that each business man is conscious of himself as a component part of a functional system.

Business men, like other human beings, are not wholly happy to think of themselves, or to be thought of by others, as struggling, grasping money grabbers who try to beat out the other fellow, or to gouge the public. One way to partly mitigate the sharpness of business competition is to associate in groups as business men. The service club serves in part as a means of escape from the turbulent bickering struggle of business competition. The congenial atmosphere of the luncheon meeting among friendly acquaintances helps these men to feel that perhaps business is not, after all, wholly a matter of striving and struggling against one's fellows.

But the service club clearly has limitations in its function as a means of easing the sense of unfriendliness created by the competitive economic system. The principle of selection is ingeniously calculated to prevent a too severe test being applied to the possibility of business men cooperating with one another. Rotary takes no direct competitors. The other three clubs are open to two men in the same line of business. Actually, however, the majority of men here are the sole representatives of their occupations (see p. 66). Still further, when two men in a relatively large city are selected from the same kind of business, differences in location and differences in quality levels of their goods or services may make them direct competitors to a slight degree. The activities of the service club with reference to business relationships are shown to be relatively small. Most of their speakers talk on subjects of a widely varying range, and business relations are not as popular a topic as the situation in Germany or the World Court.

2. The Necessity of Dignifying the Dominating Position

The group or class which dominates a society must have some way of dignifying itself in its own eyes and in the eyes of the society about it. In the America of the last century there was a

well defined gap in status between the business and professional man. The professional was more frequently a college man and a man of culture; the business man was not college educated and less frequently a cultured man. The increasing development of a civilization dominated by business has tended to obliterate that distinction in status and to place the business man on a par with the professional man. It is certain that this process has meant a raising of the general cultural status of business men. College education as a prerequisite to a business career is a far more frequent fact in contemporary America. That this process has resulted in lowering the cultural status of the professional man is the opinion of some. "The mucker pose"⁴ seems essential to success in a business civilization based upon democracy. The lucrative and respectable field for the lawyer is in serving business. The popular minister is the one who is not too much a man apart. The college executive must be first of all a business man. Advertising ability, salesmanship, and business efficiency are valuable prerequisites to the successful professional man. The fundamental dichotomy of contemporary society is between business and working class.⁵

The service club thus tends to give recognition to this fundamental similarity of the business and professional class. Here the preacher is on a par with the merchant.⁶ Still further the service club helps to dignify the business class. In spite of their "playfulness" the club members take themselves seriously and feel that their membership in the organization marks them as important men in the community. The speakers who address them tell them that they are. And the convention speeches stress the same theme.

Mr. Bliven, in the article previously quoted, comments concerning the tendency of service club members to take themselves seriously, in these words:

And finally, the clubs are bad because they make the members take themselves too seriously. Not in the meetings, which, as I have said

⁴ J. T. Adams, *op. cit.*, Chap. ix.

⁵ R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace, 1929, p. 33, notes 2 and 3.

⁶ Referring back to discussion of first-name norms will show that actually some social distance is discovered.

seem to me to be less serious than they should, but all the time, and in general. . . . These clubs encourage a tendency which would be quite bad enough without them. They exalt business into an end, whereas it ought to be only a means. They help support the false thesis that the machinery of life is more important than life itself. They prevent a proper and healthful humility on the part of their members.⁷

3. The Necessity for Ethical Justification

The purpose of private business enterprise, from the viewpoint of those who are engaged in it, is private profit. The way to secure the most profit is to pay the least possible to wholesalers and employees, and to charge the highest amount possible for goods or services sold. Minimum wages or exorbitant prices may not in the long run yield the greatest profit, hence, it becomes "good business"—i.e., creates greater profits—to maintain sometimes a slightly higher wage scale than the other fellow in order to have a contented working staff; or to charge something less than the traffic will bear in order to make a steady customer. Baldly stated, this is the way private business enterprise as a closed system operates. It is only as pressure from outside (the organization of labor, the organization of consumer, or the organization of the community, i.e., state, or nation, or city government) forces or compels regulation that this business system recognizes its communal relationship.⁸

Profit-Service Dilemma

On the other hand, the purpose of private enterprise from the viewpoint of the community is to secure the greatest number and best quality of goods and services at the least cost. The service club member in addition to being a business man is a member of this community. He resents the implication that his enterprise or the methods he uses to promote it are not for the best interests of the community. He likes to feel that there is no other way that the economic scheme can function effectively than by his making a considerable amount of money more than the vast mass of society.

⁷ Bruce Bliven: *op. cit.*, p. 903.

⁸ The total incapacity of business interests by themselves to recognize their communal relationship is what required the N.R.A.

This situation thus creates a problem which must be solved. Profits and service must somehow be reconciled.

That the service club exists in part as an answer to this psychosocial condition, the need for ethical justification of business, is evidenced from many parts of the pattern. The aims and purposes, the slogans and mottos, the activities relating to advancement of business standards and ethics, the program features in which the social responsibility of business is discussed, all these indicate the connection between the service club and business ethics.

The very slogan of Rotary—"He profits most who serves the best"—suggests the problem and the fact that the service club is interested in it. In the winter of 1929 *The Rotarian* printed an article entitled "Service for Profit" by Charles W. Hill, Ph.D., which frankly admitted that the Rotarian who claimed not to put profit above service was hypocritical. "The Rotarian who bestows service in the business or profession without regard to profit is likely to quit being a Rotarian through inability to pay his dues."⁹ This article evoked letters from Rotarians which were printed in subsequent issues. One,¹⁰ for example, echoing Dr. Hill, says: "I object, however, and strenuously, to the idea of treating financial profit as something to be ashamed of. To the most of us, financial profit is a very necessary thing and coupling the idea of financial profit with good service, a very creditable ideal, if not perhaps the highest ideal. Too high ideals frequently defeat themselves by not being workable. Rotary's success today is due largely to the workableness of her ideals, and her ideals and her success tomorrow will depend largely on keeping them workable."

In reply to the above article, another article by W. R. Yendall appeared in the following issue of *The Rotarian*. A few selections from this article are reprinted here to illustrate this profit service dilemma. The question Mr. Yendall raises is as follows: "Is Rotary's first object correctly stated: To encourage and foster the ideal of service as the basis of all worthy enterprise? Can we accept that and plead not guilty to a charge of hypocrisy? Should it not

⁹ *The Rotarian*, November 1929, p. 9.

¹⁰ Robert W. Hemphill, *The Rotarian*, December 1929, p. 37.

rather be 'To encourage and foster the ideal of service as the quickest and best road to profit'?"¹¹

The answer Mr. Yendall gives is as follows: "Service and Profit are indissolvably linked together, but it makes all the difference in the world which is the motive. When folks attempt to qualify Rotary's purpose by explaining that after all business is done for profit, and service must therefore be understood as service for profit, they are no doubt unconsciously trying to stand the business world back on its head from a position right side up on its feet." The writer then gives a few actual transactions in which are described the real nature of the service principle.

1. A certain hardware manufacturer driving to his office one morning after a heavy snowstorm, saw a friend shovelling snow away from his garage doors in order to get his car out. Garage-door hardware was one of the things this man made and he could not resist the temptation to call to his friend:

"Hey! Jim, if you had hung those doors to fold inside you wouldn't be shovelling snow this morning."

Jim's answer was:

"This is a fine time to tell me about it. If you had been on your job, these doors would be hung inside. You ought to be shovelling this snow instead of me."

Jim was right. All the time and effort wasted that morning by men whose doors were hung wrong because the manufacturer had not told them how to hang doors right was a debit charge against his service value to the community in the line in which he had chosen to serve. His factory existed, not to make money but primarily to serve the community. (Leave profit out of it for a minute.)

2. A certain other manufacturer had for several years been trying to perfect a piece of machinery for doing with motor and push button what was formerly done by hand. There was a real need for this device but there were difficult conditions to overcome. One day the engineer said:

"Let's throw this thing out of the line. We have plenty of things to make without this. It is a source of constant trouble to us, a lot of hard work, and there is no money in it."

¹¹ *The Rotarian*, December 1929, p. 9.

But the sales manager said:

"That is not the right answer. People want a machine to do this job, they look to us to supply it, they have a right to look to us to supply it and regardless of the trouble and hard work it is up to us to meet that need."

Observe carefully. From the self-interest standpoint, from the profit standpoint, that machine is not going to be built and the community is not going to be served. But the service idea prevailed. They stuck to the job and won out. (How about the profit?—in a minute.)

The superintendent says:

"We need a new machine for certain piece of work."

What is the customary way to handle that matter? What will it cost? How much time will it save, or how much additional product will it make? If the percentage on the cost is ten per cent or better, all right, if not, no.

It is the wrong approach (the approach through the profit motive is always the wrong approach).

"Why do you want this machine?"

"Because we can make a better piece of goods, an article that will better serve the purpose for which it is intended."

That is the answer. The doctrine of community service requires that machine in your plant and if your business is properly financed you will buy it. (And the profit?—patience, brother, patience.)

3. An insurance man several years ago remarked after listening to an address on service:

"The insurance business, you know, is an outstanding instance of a service institution; that is the whole conception of it."

"So, are you really putting service first?"

"I think so."

"Well, let's see. What class in the community needs insurance most?"

"Workingmen, I suppose."

"Do they get it?"

"Not to the extent that they ought to get it."

"Does your company write Group Insurance?" (At that time there were very few companies writing Group Insurance.)

"No."

"Why?"

"I don't think it would pay."

"Well, if the community requires Group Insurance, you are not a service institution unless you figure out how to deliver that service."

And they did.

4. An overseas manufacturer, being asked why he did not improve certain items in his line to give better service to his customers, said:
"Why should I bother about it? I have a nice little business here, it pays me a nice profit. I can handle it in about three hours a day and spend the rest of the time playing golf."

That was the profit answer, satisfactory to him. But the community for which his business existed was not being properly served.

Conclusion on Profit Service Dilemma

What the service club actually does in regard to business standards and ethics was discussed in Chapter IV. The above discussion of the interest in Rotary in the profit-service dilemma has been introduced for the purpose of interpreting the service club as in part a means of meeting the psycho-social requirement for ethical justification on the part of business enterprise. It should be recalled that many aspects of the club pattern result in shielding the club from the basic conflicts. Its membership is composed of men whose social and economic philosophies are remarkably alike in their uncritical acceptance of the individualistic economic system; its business "education" promoted by speakers who buttress its already accepted ideas; its activities, charitable and otherwise, conducted on the premise of the status quo. From this it would be fair to conclude that the interest of the service club in service is in part a rationalization. The interest of society is in service, and the club must feel that it serves society to satisfy the ordinary demands of conscience. The interest of individual business men is in private gain. The club could not maintain itself if it ran strongly counter to this interest. Hence the development of a service club philosophy, particularly as seen in Rotary, which reconciling profit and service attempts to rationalize this situation.

The following lines from Siegfried's *America Comes of Age* perhaps sum up this entire situation:

A good deal of twaddle is talked on this subject. With their optimistic outlook and enviable prosperity. The Americans like to tell you in their self-satisfied way that "service" is an essential condition of profits, and that the great manufacturing and distributing companies are not there only to make money, but mainly to serve the community. In fact, they maintain emphatically that this is their first consideration;

and one has to smile when the stodgy business man proudly declares that "service" to the community is his one and only passion, while he draws up a wonderful balance sheet. He may possibly believe it, for the American deceives himself very easily. At any rate it "listens well" so that their literature—standardized also—sings the praises of American business and repeats ad nauseam its professions of faith. The eloquence of the Chambers of Commerce—those modern temples for the worship of economic progress—is saturated with this idea, which seems to be a practical substitute for social morals.

"Service" is a combination of the civic virtue of the Protestant, the materialism of Bentham, and devotion to progress. It is not a Catholic conception, for though we find it in England, Switzerland, and in Scandinavia, it does not flourish in Latin Europe. It is not attractive to the intellectual or the artist who are accustomed to work individually, but it is very pleasing to the merchant with his sense of credit. He hopes by conscientious service to keep his customers, and sell them again next year. Baedaker, that great philosopher, advised giving good tips, "but only if you intend to return." In the end, "service" is the doctrine of an optimistic Pharisee trying to reconcile success with justice. Such ethics have their purpose, for they advocate honesty, good manners, and kindliness. They are a marvellous expression of practical intelligence of the American, as well as his sincere idealism and ingenuousness.¹²

INTERPRETATION OF THE DISTRIBUTIVE ASPECTS OF THE SERVICE CLUB

The data on the distribution of the service club, while indicating the validity of its interpretation as a phenomenon of urban society and of its business segment, revealed two peculiarities upon which attention is now focused. These peculiarities are the considerable frequency with which service clubs are located in small cities, and the greater density of service clubs west of the Mississippi.

The Service Club and the Small City Business Life

Because the service clubs are found so extensively in smaller cities and larger towns, it is necessary to test our interpretation in terms of the small community. In general it is clear that the country and city present fewer contrasts in our American society today due to the rapid means of communication.

¹² André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age*, Harcourt, Brace, 1927, pp. 168-9.

Let us take the testimony of some of our small city service club members and see whether they reveal any of these urban conditions upon which our interpretation is based. Here is a young lawyer, a not overenthusiastic Rotarian in a community of 2,200 located in a rural section. He says his primary interest in Rotary is that it affords him an opportunity to meet men whom he would not otherwise meet. Asked why he needed Rotary for this purpose in a place of 2,200 inhabitants, he said his evenings were spent in social affairs with a small clique of intimate personal friends, and that there was no other time or place to meet these people except at Rotary luncheon. Here is Jim—who owns and manages a furniture store in the same community. He actually lives in a town ten miles away. He is an example of the man of two communities. Rotary gives him a club membership based upon his business community as contrasted with his residential community. Considerable distance between home and office is not exclusively a large city phenomenon.

The cultural dominance of our society by the culture and civilization emanating from our larger urban areas reflects itself in the desire of the small town business men to emulate the large city business men. Thus membership in Rotary, or any of the other service clubs, is as much a sign of modernity and “progressiveness,” as a house with two bathrooms, a Buick, or an electric refrigerator.

The basic interpretation of the service club as a social product of essentially urban conditions applies, then, to the small city or town, if in less degree. The second half of our interpretation on the basis of conditions in the business class or segment of community life applies equally to the smaller or larger city.

There is one way in which club membership interests in greater degree the small town member. He especially enjoys the privilege of attending service club meetings of his federation in larger communities. Several small city members told how much they enjoyed “making up” in the larger cities. They related with pride how they sat between two prominent business men of the larger cities and derived much pleasure from the contact.

The smaller city or town has a lesser number of associations organized for specific purposes than the larger town. Hence the

range of interests served by the service club in the smaller community may be wider. In a later section the fact is noted that the club may function more in the capacity of chamber of commerce in those communities not having a chamber. In Belvidere, New Jersey (population, 2,200), the Rotary Club sponsored a lecture series on economic problems by a Lafayette professor. This constitutes the only example of this type of activity known to the writer. The service club being, in its essential pattern, a general interest rather than a specific interest association, functions in a greater variety of ways in the smaller community.

The Westward Bias in the Distribution of the Service Club

The fact that service clubs are so widely and generally distributed throughout the United States suggests that the explanation for their occurrence must be very much the same in the East or West, the North or the South. If it were shown that the service club was a quite different thing in Portland, Maine, and in Portland, Oregon, it would be necessary to claim validity for the foregoing interpretation only for the service club in the northeastern area. However, in the chapter on variation in pattern, it was maintained that sectional variation was not an important factor. The greater frequency of clubs west of the Mississippi River than east of it suggests either that the same conditions, or some part of them, favorable to the development or maintenance of the clubs, exist in greater degree in the West than in the East; or per contra that certain conditions less favorable to their development are to be found more frequently in the East than in the West.

Among the conditions in a community making it fertile ground for the development of a service club are rapidity of urban growth and newness to urbanism. Both of these conditions create a situation favorable to the development of new forms of associations. Here it is not so much the growth of a community from, let us say 15,000 to 20,000, as it is the transformation of the community of a smaller size which is essentially "small townish" or semi-rural in its sociological character to one which is essentially urban in character, that renders the old social organization inadequate. This transformation is not always a matter of growth in numbers of

the political community but may be accomplished by the flow of urban culture from larger communities through the rapid means of communication. The development of the community through commerce rather than industry is more favorable to the service club. It has already been pointed out that the membership of the service club includes far more men of trade than of industry and that the smaller community which is more largely a trade center than a mill town provides a more adequate basis of occupational specialization for the selective membership plan of the service club.

With these conditions in mind, the table below will give us clues to the westward bias of service club distribution. The table lists the eight states which have undergone the most rapid urbanization in the past twenty years, indicates their service club density, and the percentage of their population engaged in manufacturing.

TABLE XI

SERVICE CLUB DENSITY OF PARTICULAR STATES IN RELATION TO URBAN GROWTH
AND PER CENT ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING

STATE	NET CHANGE IN PER CENT OF POPULATION LISTED AS URBAN	*SERVICE CLUB DENSITY	PER CENT EN- GAGED IN MFG.
Florida	31.4	High (1.53)	4
Nevada	21.5	High (1.50)	2
Michigan	21.0	Low (.83)	11
Texas 15.	15.9	High (1.33)	2
Oklahoma	15.0	Medium (1.28)	1
Tennessee	14.1	Low (.81)	5
Indiana	13.1	Medium (1.19)	10
California	12.5	High (1.87)	5

*See p. 119 for explanation of service club density.

Michigan and Tennessee show rapid urban growth with low service club density. Indiana and Oklahoma show rapid urban growth with medium service club density. Michigan and Indiana have over twice as large a proportion of its population engaged in manufacturing as any of the other states. Florida, interestingly enough, has the highest service club density of any state east of the Mississippi. Florida leads all states in the Union for rapidity of urban growth from 1910-1930. It also has a low percentage of its

population engaged in industry. Taking all the above facts together it indicates that rapidity of urban growth, particularly in states newer to the urban mode of life, when it is associated more with commercial than with industrial growth, presents a condition more favorable to the spread of service clubs than either less rapid urban growth, greater accommodation to urban life, or growth which is in higher degree the result of an increase in manufacturing.

Heterogeneity or Homogeneity within the Business Class

The service club is, as has been noted, a personal group. The members must act toward one another in a friendly way and on a plane of equality. The high degree of social homogeneity revealed in the composition of the membership in Chapter V suggests the greater probability of success in starting and developing a club in a community where the social and cultural status of the business and professional group is more homogeneous. Any community above ten or fifteen thousand would furnish enough men to meet this requirement. But in the smaller cities this situation becomes important. And it is in the West that we find a greater density of service clubs in the smaller communities. The data on composition of membership reveals that it is to a very high degree native born. It is probable that business and professional groups in the smaller western communities are more homogeneous with reference to American nativity.

The Greater Informality and Democracy of the West

While the service club is, in a sense, a class phenomenon, it requires democracy and informality in the relationship of member to member. In the East there are more lines of social division which cut across the homogeneity of business and professional groups. Mrs. Gerould, for example, considers the status of a Westerner far less influenced by either money or genealogy.¹³ The same writer confirms the general reputation of the West for greater democracy and informality in these terms.

The informality of the West is not only a tradition, but a fact. . . . A formal habit can be forced upon the average American by just two

¹³ Katherine F. Gerould, *The Aristocratic West*, Harper & Brothers, 1925.

things: Anglo-Saxon reticence, and elaborate social paraphernalia. Elaborate social paraphernalia do not exist in the Far West as they exist in the East. . . . Reticence, moreover, is difficult to keep up in the same way when a lot of people have to face simple problems together in a new country. If a half a hundred people are making a new town out of nothing, they have to "get together"; and primitive living destroys formal living first of all. You count chiefly, for your value in and to the group; and naturally where you were born . . . makes very much less difference than what you happen to be good for on the spot.

They [the Far Westerners] are more given, perhaps, than Easterners to spontaneous association with their fellow men. Almost every man you see wears the insignia of some fraternal organization or other. They have not the eastern prejudice against thus labelling themselves and their fellowships.¹⁴

¹⁴ Katherine F. Gerould, *The Aristocratic West*, p. 100, Harper & Brothers, 1925.

CHAPTER XI

THE SERVICE CLUB IN THE COMMUNITY

IT is the purpose of this chapter to indicate the rôle of the service club in the community and to describe its relationship to other associations within the community.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SERVICE CLUB TO OTHER ASSOCIATIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

In the methodological note in the Appendix it is pointed out that the relationship of one group to another may be cooperative or conflictive. It is further indicated that the cooperative relationship may take a coordinate, or a supplementary form. In the former, a number of groups undertake some activity jointly and on an equal basis, for example, get together to honor some leading citizen; in the latter form, one group is aided in carrying out a project of its own by other groups. Conflictive relationships may take either of two forms, antagonistic or substitutive. Here the former would be illustrated by the presence in the community of a Ku Klux Klan and a League against Fascism. The substitutive form is less direct and more subtle. It is seen in the indirect competition of two associations for the time and energy of the same men, as when the midweek prayer meeting of a man's church is scheduled at the same time as his lodge meeting.

The service club has a general community interest which lacks specificity or definiteness, hence it may from time to time relate itself occasionally to almost any other association in the community. Characteristically, however, the club is related to the following organizations: the chamber of commerce, the welfare agency, the school, the fraternal organization, and the church. Its relationship to each of these organizations will be discussed in turn.

Relation to Chamber of Commerce

A chamber of commerce exists for the purpose of promoting business generally in its community, for developing cooperation

among business men, and for advertising its city or town. The service club, as has been indicated, is interested in all these purposes. The extent, however, to which the service club actually engages in activities of a type logically falling within the chamber of commerce's function, is limited by the effectiveness of the chamber. Some communities, having a service club, do not have a chamber. In such places, the activities of the service club in this direction are more numerous. A member of Exchange spoke of a town in which he had formerly lived where there was no chamber. Here the Exchange Club functioned largely in the capacity of a business promoter.¹ Where both the chamber and service clubs exist, the relationship is primarily cooperative, with the service club essentially supplementary to the chamber. The proposals of the chamber for booming the community's business may be easily and effectively presented to service clubs at their regular meetings. The relationship between these two associations is conflicting only in the substitutive form of conflictive relationships. The secretary of a chamber told the writer that since the advent of the service clubs in his community, it has been more difficult to get business men together for chamber dinners or luncheons. Even here, however, the relationship is not a very sharply conflicting one, for while the presence of service clubs reduces the sociability function of the chamber, the essential function of the chamber is not sociability, whereas that of the service club is.

It appears correct to state that in a community of over ten thousand population there is room for both the chamber and one or more service clubs, performing primarily distinct functions, and cooperating with reference to the chamber's functions.

The Service Club and the Welfare Agency

The type of group described in this study has been called "service" club because the members of the club feel that service is its chief reason for existence. In justification of this designation, the clubs emphasize in their magazines the welfare activities of the

¹ Exchange's principle of selection is more elastic than that of the other three federations. It is therefore in a better position to spread to smaller communities, and to have a more inclusive representation of the business and professional men in such a place.

numerous clubs. Some examples of the typical welfare activities were described in the chapter on extra-club activities. The service club is not a substitute for welfare agencies. Typically, its activities are spasmodic rather than sustained. And where sustained, it takes the form of continuing certain "pet" activities. Welfare work in the modern society is a highly specialized and professionalized field of activity, or at least increasingly it tends to be. The service club does not have the personnel, and obviously its members do not have the time to devote to professional welfare activities. Where its membership does include trained social workers in any field, its activity in this direction is more efficient. One service club member expressed an opinion that the clubs would do well to give up all their welfare activities and turn over whatever money its members were willing to give to welfare agencies. But such a suggestion overlooks the givers in philanthropic enterprise. It may be more sensible to sign a check for a trained social worker to spend than actually to participate in welfare work, but it does not provide the business man with the same emotional satisfaction. He likes to think of himself as a benevolently minded person genuinely concerned for the distress of others, particularly when that distress can be perceived personally or pictured to him in personal terms. Just as long as it does not cost too much or take too much time, he thoroughly enjoys it. The service club, then, as a welfare agency, functions something like the boy who rakes up the scattering hay left in the path of his father's hay wagon. And like the boy, it gets tired easily and stops to play frequently.

Aside from its direct participation in welfare activity, the service club stands in a cooperative relationship with the welfare agency. Its meetings provide a useful avenue of approach for the leaders of welfare agencies when they wish to raise money or advertise their work. In most cases the clubs can be expected to lend their "moral support" and give time to the agencies' financial drives, as well as make some contribution on their own behalf.

Relationship to the School

The interest of service clubs in children was indicated in the description of the extra-club activities (p. 34). The most widespread

and regular activity of service clubs in connection with schools was noted on the part of the clubs of Kiwanis International (p. 42). The relationship of the club to the school is a cooperative relationship of the supplementary form.

Holding vocational guidance conferences, equipping high school athletic teams with uniforms, presenting prizes for best students, etc., help to supplement the work of the school. Still further, being composed of essentially conventional and influential citizens, the service club can be counted upon to give its moral support to the general improvement of the educational system in its community. The principal or superintendent of the school is almost always a member of some service club.

The Service Club and the Fraternal Organization^f

The rise of fraternal organizations such as Masonry, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, etc., has been interpreted in part as due to the desire of the ordinary individual to escape the levelling influences of democracy. With their secret initiations, their esoteric ritual, their insistence upon the high character of their members, their gradation of degrees, and the high sounding titles of their offices, they seem to appeal to the desire to feel superior to the common mass of humanity. In addition, Masons at least emphasize the esthetic quality of their ritual and regalia. The rise of the service club movement has come after the heyday of these older men's organizations. As has been shown in the section dealing with the intensity of the relationship of the member to the club, service club members usually belong to other men's organizations, quite frequently the Masons. Our data in that section showed that on the whole the loyalty to Masonry was about as strong as to the service club, while at the same time the service club seemed to play a larger part in their lives. The unwillingness on the part of some to give up Masonry before service club perhaps can be explained on the basis of the tradition of Masonry and the feeling that it is a more select organization. As was also seen from the replies of service club members belonging to Masons, men belonging to both seem to credit Masonry with a "spiritual" function which they contrast with the practical usefulness of service club activities.

In terms of functions, these two types of organizations are quite distinct at some points and overlap at others. Their great point of differentiation lies in the fact that on the whole the fraternal organizations exist frankly for the benefit of their members, while the service club considers itself at least in part a community service organization, and typically does something which it considers is useful to the community each year.

In terms of the activities centered within the group itself, these respective types of organizations overlap in their functions albeit there are conspicuous differences in the tone and atmosphere. Fellowship, the prestige coming from membership in a select group, character-forming influences, all these are felt to be individual values accruing from membership in both. Yet it is in perhaps the differences which these two types of organizations exhibit which explain the popularity of the service club at a waning period of the fraternal organization. The fraternal organizations are formal and esoteric. The service club is highly informal and extremely open to public view. Visitors constantly are invited to service club luncheons and sit through their business proceedings. This informality and cordial openness of the service club is, perhaps, more in tune with modern small city American life than the formality and ritual of the fraternal organization.

The fraternal organization is, as a rule, larger than the service club, and its activities are far less regular and recurrent. It cannot serve the need for a personal face-to-face group as the service club does. Furthermore, the mechanism of the fraternal organization does not operate to enforce as high a degree of participation by each member as does the service club. Once a Mason always a Mason provided only that one pays one's dues. Once a Rotarian, and constant pressure starts operating to make one attend every luncheon, serve on a committee, and contribute to this and that community project.

The relationship between the service club and the fraternal organization is not direct. On the surface there is no connection. But if the form which has been described as conflictive-substitutive be accepted as valid, this is the correct designation for the connection between these two organizations. For sociability is an acknowl-

edged function of both, and to the extent that a man finds fellowship in one, he may neglect the other. Hence, while membership in the two groups overlaps to a considerable degree, there is a subtle conflict between the two to obtain the enthusiastic group participation of the business and professional man.

Relation to Church

It might seem unnecessary to consider the relationship of the service club to the church, yet there are respects in which they overlap in functions and relationships. Churches engage in welfare activities of the same type as those of the service club and also provide a forum for the discussion of public questions although the writer is of the opinion that the activities of churches in these two respects have diminished with the rise of service clubs, lay welfare agencies and other types of groups.

The service club member, who is typically also a church member, feels about the same regarding his relationship to these respective groups as he does about his fraternal and service club affiliations, only more strongly so. That is, he would give up his service club membership before his church connection but on the other hand he finds the activities of the service club more engaging of his time and interest than the church.

The service club is not deliberately a competitor of the church for the interest of the business man. From what has been pointed out concerning the conservative composition of the club and the conservative attitudes of its members, both the club as a group and its members separately can be considered as supporters of the traditional position of churches in our society.

There are, however, two ways in which the service club manifests the conflictive-substitutive form of relationship to the church. The presence of the service club means that time and energy and money are required to develop its activity. In this respect the club encroaches upon the church in the cases of men who belong to both. A member of Rotary testified to this effect by saying that since his active participation in Rotary his activity in church work had declined. This transition had not been deliberately, consciously effected. His awareness that this change had taken place had not

been consciously focused until the writer questioned him on this point. The other way in which the service club stands in a conflictive-substitute relationship to the church is with reference to a partial similarity in functions. There are writers who define religion in terms of devotion to what is believed to represent the highest welfare of the community.² Considering this psycho-social element, the service club may be, for some members, a substitute for the church. For to the more enthusiastic member, the club does promote his already engendered devotion to law and order, love of country, and sense of communal obligation. Certain individual members confessed that they found the "practical altruism" of the service club more inspiring than the church's activity in the same direction. In this connection, we may conclude with this reference.

The Cosmopolitan Club is not supposed to be a religious institution, but it has been called the church of the common weal. It does a good for everybody. It has no edifices, congregations, hymn books or collections. It is not hypocritical. It is a straight business proposition. But just the same it casts a spell of goodwill and encouragement over its members. It teaches its members the "Golden Rule" and that the doctrine of the "Fatherhood of God" and the "Brotherhood of Man" is predicated on the proposition that "I am my brother's Keeper."

Belong!

A baptism of new zest for life and achievement awaits you.³

The Relation of the Service Clubs to each other in the Same Community

In terms of service to the community, one large service club could accomplish more than several small clubs. But such a club would fail to serve the fellowship interests which play so dominant a rôle. The relationship of each club to the others in the same community is on the whole friendly, cooperative, and tinged with the spice of good natured rivalry. Members of each club frequently attend meetings of the others, perhaps to suggest some project of civic interest, to address the club, or merely to visit. Inter-club luncheons are held several times a year, sometimes when an espe-

² F. H. Hankins, *Introduction to Study of Society*, Macmillan, 1928, p. 588.

³ P. J. Hodgins, *The Cosmopolitan Idea*, International Federation of Cosmopolitan Clubs, p. 15.

cially prominent speaker can be secured. In some communities there is a council of service club presidents which meets several times a year to discuss matters of community interest in which the cooperative efforts of all the clubs would be desirable, as the establishment of a community chest organization. In one community, this spirit of friendliness is evidenced by the annual cooperation of three clubs in the community toward a project initiated and executed by a fourth, and for which the fourth gets the entire credit. In another instance, a club put on a play to raise money for a scholarship endowment project. Members of other clubs in the community took parts in the cast and assisted generally in making the affair a success.

The good-natured rivalry is evidenced by the scramble to secure new members or in the bantering reflections cast by the members of one upon the other. In a committee meeting of a club where the prospect of securing X as a new member was raised, it was said that X had been around to the other clubs who were also after him. A member of the committee said "In that case, we'll get him. If he sees what a sedate bunch of old fogies the 'A's' are, and discovers what a rough, boisterous bunch the 'B's' are, I'm sure he'll find our club a happy medium between the two."

THE RÔLE OF THE SERVICE CLUB IN THE COMMUNITY

That groups cannot be defined by their functions alone, as Goldenweiser has indicated,⁴ is nowhere better shown than by the service club. Each one of its separate functions is performed by some other one or more associations in an American community. Its welfare work overlaps with the Elks, the churches, the American Legion, to say nothing of the professional welfare agency. Its activities related to business life overlap with the chamber of commerce and trade associations. Its fraternal functions overlap with such organizations as Masons, Odd Fellows, etc. Its cultural activities overlap with a number of cultural associations.

The two primary functions of the service club as the interpretation revealed, are to provide fellowship and to provide opportunity for personal expression of the desire to be a socially conscious mem-

⁴ A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, Knopf, 1922, p. 266.

ber of the community. It exists in addition to the multiplicity of other associations because it, better than these other associations, meets the particular conditions existing in the American community which were described in the two chapters of the interpretation. Because its interests are general, the service club conflicts very little with other associations within the community, as the previous section indicated. Wherever it does conflict, the conflict takes the substitute form.

In addition to its place with reference to other associations, it is essential to consider the rôle of the service club with reference to community solidarity. The pride with which service clubs point to their "service" activities and the general goodwill which they exhibit toward other groups within the community creates the impression that these clubs are not in any direct sense a disharmonic element in the community. Yet there is an inarticulate expression of class consciousness pervading the life of the service club. It is a business class organization as its process of selection prescribes, and as such is disqualified as a truly community organization. Its speeches and speakers vary very narrowly about the norm of business class ideology. Its welfare work is predicated upon the status quo, consequently the effect of the service club upon community solidarity is largely an ameliorative influence. If the best that can be hoped for in our business civilization is the continuance of a "live and let live" attitude between the business and working classes, then the service clubs serve as a means of ameliorating the psychosocial distance which separates the two, through their gestures of benevolent philanthropy. If community organization be conceived of in more dynamic terms, however, its fundamental task is to create more positive communal bonds of union between these two great groupings of our urban communities. Under this conception, the service club fails to act as a solidifying force within the community.

While it is probable that the major value of a service club is the service of fellowship which it renders its own members, it is a useful organization to have in any community. It does, as has been pointed out, supplement welfare, educational and religious associations. While participation in the club life works few miracles in

the transformation of business-centered and family-centered men into community-centered citizens, the club experience does at the minimum heighten whatever degree of civic interest the individual brings with him as he enters the club. The constancy and frequency with which the luncheon meeting exposes him to local civic problems condition an habitual civic mindedness.

In conclusion, it should be noted that whatever degree of civic mindedness is engendered, its range extends beyond the circle of the service club membership in the community at any one time. Due to the relatively high turnover in membership each year, there is a goodly company of ex-service "clubites." For whatever reasons they may have left, financial stringency, pressure of other affairs, or lack of interest, their service club experience has left an impression on them. They are, as a result of the experience, more responsive to appeals for assistance in civic projects.

CHAPTER XII

THE FUTURE OF THE SERVICE CLUB

IN this concluding chapter discussing the future of the service club, the questions are raised: "Will the existing federations continue to expand, hold their own, or decline? And if the club continues to remain a popular form of men's association, as may be reasonably expected, what changes are likely to occur in its pattern?" The two questions are related because the continued vitality of a group is often dependent upon its capacity or willingness to change when the conditions out of which it arose and upon the basis of which it maintains itself change.

Any prediction concerning the future of the service club is complicated by the difficulty of knowing how rapidly and in which direction American society in its politico-economic aspects will change. Two conjectural situations have to be considered. What will happen to the service club in the event that our society continues to function on its historic framework of private economic enterprise and democratic political institutions; and what will happen to the service club in the event that our society decides to adopt either one of the newer fashions in social organization, the socialist or the fascist mode.

The future of the service club is seriously jeopardized in the event of either of the latter radical changes. Fascism has been interpreted as a middle class revolution. To the extent that this is correct, such a change would appear to leave middle class associations, such as the service club, untouched or even strengthened. But the totalitarian state in practice strengthens the position of the small group controlling capital. In no sense does it make more independent the small business and professional man. In a fascist order the service club would, no doubt, be tolerated, but its rôle as civic booster and community leader would be more than ever subservient to the small dominating group.

If the development of our society takes a more socialistic trend, the service club will disappear because its psycho-social basis as it relates to business life will be undermined. The socialist blueprint calls for a liquidation of the middle class. If the status distinction which now adheres to the function of the owning-managerial group is removed, the satisfaction now derived from being a distinguished member of that group, which election to the service club implies, becomes meaningless. The property right on civic spirit which those outstanding representatives of the middle class, the service club members, now possess would have to be shared more generally.

The destiny of the service club beyond the immediate future is linked with the fate of the middle class. In the corporate society it can have a place, maintaining a fiction of civic leadership, solacing itself in fellowship for its position as retainer. In the collectivist society it disappears as an anachronism.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER EXPANSION

The data in Table II, (p. 10) showed that the rapid expansion of the Big Three Federations was arrested by the economic depression beginning in 1929. Since then there has been a drop in the total membership of each, even though the number of clubs has increased slightly. While no doubt the economic depression accounts for the sudden arrest of the rapid expansion, it is possible that the field of communities where it is possible to establish service clubs had been so widely covered by that time, that a much slower rate of expansion would, in any event, have been the case. A more concrete idea of the extent to which the field had been covered can be obtained by focusing attention in detail upon a limited area. For this purpose, the distribution of service clubs affiliated with The Big Four in the state of New Jersey in 1932, is presented in Table XII. New Jersey is a state with relatively low service club density (see Appendix, p. 173).

Since Table XII shows no communities under 1,000 having service clubs, they may be disregarded. There are only five cities in the state over 10,000 in population which do not have at least one club. The 5-9,999 class shows about one-third of the municipalities not having a club. Even the 3-4,999 class shows more than half of

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF ROTARY, LIONS, KIWANIS, AND EXCHANGE CLUBS IN NEW JERSEY WITH REFERENCE TO POPULATION OF CITIES IN WHICH THEY WERE LOCATED

POP. CLASS	TOTAL NO. OF CITIES IN CLASS	TOTAL NO. OF CITIES HAVING AT LEAST ONE CLUB	TOTAL NO. OF CLUBS IN CITIES OF CLASS
100,000 or more	6	6	22
50-99,999	7	7	15
25-49,999	11	9	27
10-24,999	36	33	60
5- 9,999	47	31	45
3- 4,999	35	19	23
1- 2,999	82	27	28
Under 1,000	116	0	0

the towns having one club. The table also shows that the possibility of further expansion by additional clubs in the larger cities is quite limited. Of the six cities in the state over 100,000 in population, four have clubs representing each of the four federations, and the other two cities have two of these clubs apiece. Five of the seven cities in the 50-99,999 class have multiple clubs. There is a considerable opportunity conceivable for expansion in the cities below 5,000. However, in Chapter IX it was pointed out that very small cities are less fertile ground for service clubs. If we view these figures in the light of the fact that New Jersey is a state of relatively low service club density, there is very reasonable ground for maintaining that the service club movement was approaching its height of expansion in 1929, irrespective of the depression.

This analysis of the distribution of clubs in the New Jersey area suggests that there would not be the opportunity for an expansion in this decade like that which occurred in the last, whatever economic conditions might have been. That this is more true with reference to the entire national area would appear from the fact that the New Jersey area has relatively low service club density.

So far in the discussion of the opportunity for further service club expansion, trends in population growth and urbanization have been disregarded. Students of population trends generally agree that the rate of population growth is to slow down markedly. How-

ever, general population growth is less significant with reference to the field for organizing new service clubs than particular aspects of urbanization. A fertile field for new service clubs lies in two situations: first, in a small community which is in the process of changing from a village-rural character to a town-urban character; secondly, in a city that is growing very rapidly, in which the situation is ripe for the formation of a second or third service club. It is probable that more of the former type of situations will be present in the next few years than of the latter type.

The general conclusions which appear from this discussion are: first, that while the economic depression sharply arrested the rate of expansion of the service club movement, a virtual saturation point was approaching by 1930; secondly, in spite of the decreasing rate of population growth, the service club federations will have considerable opportunity for modest expansion in smaller places which are changing to an urban mode of life.

The Vitality of Service Clubs

As has been pointed out, while there has been some loss in membership, there has been no net loss in the number of clubs. The whole movement has weathered the storm of the depression intact. To do this has required retrenchments in the expenses of the International and State organizations, curtailment of activities on the part of clubs, and a lowering of dues and luncheon fees.

If the interpretation presented in Chapters IX and X is valid, this continued popularity would be expected since the conditions in our society upon which the interpretation has been based will continue to exist for some time and provide the same situations favorable to the maintenance of service clubs. While urban growth is slowing up, the general tendency for American society to become more urban in character will continue for some time to come. Consequently, the need for face to face groups to mitigate the anonymity and impersonality of urban society and of organized groups through which the individual may give more effective expression of civic interest, will serve to give validity to the service club. Similarly will some of the conditions related to business life which have formed the basis of our interpretation serve to maintain the ser-

vice club; namely, the distance between home and office, the impersonality of business relations, and the tempo of commercial life.

CHANGES IN CLUB PATTERN SUGGESTED BY CERTAIN SOCIAL TRENDS

The further extension of certain trends now existing in our society will affect the service club and may require changes in its pattern if it is to survive. They are: the trend toward corporateness in economic organization; the increased substitution of public welfare for private charity; the emergence of more class consciousness in political conflict; and the increasing emancipation of women.

Trend toward Corporateness

The trend toward corporateness in economic organization tends to decrease the independence of the smaller business men from which the bulk of service club membership is recruited. Hence, the basis of selection, which constitutes the most unique feature of the service club, may require alteration. Chain store managers are, for example, not eligible for membership. If these clubs are to flourish in the future, they may have to accommodate their selective principle to this decreasing independence of "the forgotten man." This trend toward corporateness will also deflate still further the sense of importance and the attitude of benevolent custodianship of civic affairs which the service club member now reveals. In our interpretation of the rôle of the service club in rationalizing the profit-service dilemma of the entrepreneur-citizen, little value was attached to the results of service club efforts to regenerate economic enterprise in behalf of community service. But even such impact as service clubs may have wielded in this direction in the past will be inevitably less as the corporate trend removes more and more control from the hands of the small business men, represented extensively in service clubs.

Trend toward Public Welfare

The increasing assumption by the state of all services to be rendered to the "underprivileged" may well curtail the activities of the service club in this direction. Not that any system of public welfare is likely to be so adequate as to leave no opportunity for the aid of

needy individuals on the part of benevolently minded groups. The very enormity of the problem at present, however, makes their amateur, neighborly charity appear all the more futile. For this reason, their welfare work will accumulate less prestige for the club. Still further, the gigantic public welfare program will have to be paid for. Its costs will bear heavily upon these men in various taxes, disposing them less to encourage additional welfare work on the part of their clubs.

Trend toward Class Consciousness

The trend in the political arena points more in the direction of opposing forces based upon economic class lines. To the extent that events tend to focus the political struggle more clearly between the propertied and the non-propertied groups in our society, the problem of the political rôle of the service club becomes more difficult. It has been pointed out that the service club strenuously eschews politics. A very recent example of this comes from the writer's own community where the service clubs decided not to send an official representative to a meeting where the question of supporting a city manager plan for the city government was to be discussed by leading citizens. The policy of non-participation in politics by service clubs is based upon the fact that their membership is composed of Republicans and Democrats. Consequently, participation in partisan politics would precipitate bitter conflict within the group. But if the political struggle focuses more as indicated above, the service club, being composed of men of property, may be pressed upon to exert its influence in the political arena on the side of the propertied interests. While to the class-conscious radical, the service club federations may appear as a great potential organized force which could be quickly mobilized to aid in quelling the "Red Revolution," the record of the service clubs to date indicates no pronounced disposition toward "red-baiting" or vigilante activities. But if the struggle sharpens, this policy of political aloofness will have to change. And the writer does not see how anyone who has sampled the psychological atmosphere of a number of service clubs luncheons can have any doubt as to the side they will take.

The Emancipation of Women

There is one further trend of contemporary civilization which may bear some relationship to the future of the service club as a men's organization, namely, the emancipation of women. The separation of the sexes in associational life outside the family has been a fundamental principle of social organization from time immemorial. In earlier periods, formal associational life was chiefly restricted to men. The past century has seen, in our country at least, the rise of many women's associations. These in general have taken two forms: organizations whose interests were supposed to be traditionally feminine; and organizations which were more or less appendages to the male associations, as the Eastern Star is an auxiliary of the Masons. The increasing emancipation of women has wrought devastating consequences to this ancient and honorable dichotomy of social life. More and more informal and formal groups are coming to include both men and women. Can the service club resist the rising tide of femininity?

Service clubs still retain this traditional separation of the sexes. Separate women's business and professional clubs have arisen, such as Zonta. The wives of service clubs' members enter the life of the club on special occasions by accompanying their husbands to the conventions where activities for the women are carried on separately while the men deliberate in conference. "Ladies' Night" is on the club program once or twice a year. Whenever the club tries to raise money for its welfare activities, the wives are drafted to assist in the enterprise.

It is difficult to imagine the sort of group we have been interpreting with both men and women in it. Such a preposterous thought has no doubt never arisen in the minds of service club men. They are conventional men and their wives are conventional women. The complications arising out of a situation in which Miss Jones and Mr. Smith belonged to an intimate luncheon club while Mrs. Smith is not included would be too much for all concerned. Still further, business and professional women as a class are still regarded as inferior by men. To admit Miss Jones would be to acknowledge that she is superior to many of the men in the city engaged in what has been considered always a "man's game."

Finally, and perhaps most important, there is something about the quality of purely male companionship which to the conventional man distinguishes it from that of a mixed group. One Rotarian, a business man with earlier aspirations toward Y.M.C.A. work, said "There is something about the fellowship of men which is entirely changed once a woman enters the room." The survival of the service club depends in part upon its capacity to provide men with a last refuge where men can be men or, one gravely suspects, where men can be boys.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

IN the introduction to this study (p. 1) it was stated that one of the purposes was to indicate the value of a scheme of group analysis, conceivably applicable to all "associations," (as distinguished by MacIver from communal groups)¹ by applying the scheme to the analysis of a group not yet studied in a systematic sociological manner. The writer shares the opinion that to develop scientific sociology a common set of categories for the description and analysis of the major systems of relationships, which constitute the data of sociology, should be utilized by all students. Otherwise there is difficulty and confusion in comparing partly similar and partly dissimilar communities or groups. Take, for example, "Middletown"² and "Mineville."³ Here are two extremely interesting and adequately detailed community studies. The value of them to sociology would have been greater if they had been written from some common framework of *community* study. The boys' gang and the local church congregation are in many ways dissimilar phenomena but they are both associations, and as such they should be studied from some common framework of *association* study.

It is in the hope that the categories of description and analysis used in this study may be suggestive in the direction the writer believes necessary that a formal statement of the scheme is presented below, illustrated by concrete reference to groups other than the service club. For the broad concepts utilized the writer is indebted to Professor Theodore Abel. Responsibility for this particular developed statement of the scheme lies with the present writer.

¹ *Society: Its Structure and Changes*, Long & Smith, 1931, p. 12.

² R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *op. cit.*

³ The community studied by A. C. Blumenthal as described in *Small Town Stuff*, University of Chicago Press, 1934.

THE CATEGORIES OF GROUP ANALYSIS

Defining a group in strictly sociological terms provides a logical basis for group analysis which should apply to any group. Our definition was stated in the introduction as "a system of relationships and activities unifying a number of individuals in the pursuit of one or more common interests." Hence, the three general categories for group analysis are activities, relationships, and the unifying bond.

Activities

Inasmuch as a group is an association within a community, the activities of a group fall into two divisions: the activities which affect only the group itself; and the activities affecting the community in which the group is an association. The family dinner is an activity which affects only the family itself; but the manner in which the household disposes of its garbage affects the community. -

Relationships

The whole system of relationships comprising a group falls into two broad classes: the relationship of member to group; and the relationship of member to member. The relationship of father to family illustrates the former; that of son to father, or brother to sister illustrates the latter. These relationships have a character, an intensity, and an extent. The general character of a relationship involves a twofold classification, one referring to status and the other referring to function. In regard to status, the relationship may be one of equality, as twin sisters within the family; or it may be one involving difference in status, as mother to daughter. The classification of the character of a relationship involving function requires examination of the degree to which the relationship involves cooperation in the performance of the same function, i.e., the member of a chorus singing in unison; or involves cooperation in differentiated functions, as the relationship of superintendent and capitalist in a business enterprise.

The character of the relationship is determined by two factors: the character of the personalities involved; and the character of the functions. Whether the relationship between members is an equal one or involves difference in status depends in part upon the relative degrees of intelligence, physical strength, and will among the members. Thus, in a boys' gang, the most cunning or the most aggressive assumes leadership and usually commands obedience. For the other part, the character of a relationship is determined by the character of the functions. The relationship between captain and private, between teacher and student, between employer and employee is necessarily one involving difference in function; whereas in a discussion group, except

for the probability of the selection of a chairman, the relationship between members does not involve difference in function.

The two factors just mentioned are the determinants of a relationship where institutionalization has not occurred, or where the influence of the social heritage does not enter in. Such a situation might be present when a number of people were shipwrecked on a desert island, between whom there had been no previous relationships. This situation is approximated in the origin of a boys' gang, or in the formation of a community organization in a frontier community.

Actually, however, in most social situations the influence of the social heritage plays a part in determining the character of a relationship. If, for example, a number of people assemble to consider the formation of a new political party in a community, deference will be expressed by the clerk toward the teacher of political science because of the latter's recognized superior status. But still further, as the group develops, the character of the relationships becomes fixed by norms or institutions which the group itself establishes. Once the office of president has been established, the relationship of the ordinary member to the particular incumbent of the office involves obedience, whether or not the particular president is more qualified than himself to command.

The situation portrayed by Barrie in the *Admiral Crichton* illuminates the above discussion. There the servile character of the relationship of Crichton to the Lady had been fixed by the institutions of English society. The free play of differences in personality in the establishment of a new society upon the uninhabited island was impeded by the social heritage. The exigency of the crisis at hand, however, finally resulted in the rearrangement of the relationships in stricter accordance with the actual differences in personal abilities.

The extent of a relationship refers to the range of activity which the relationship involves. In a boys' gang the range of activity is wide. The gang may fight, play, rob, build a shack, or, when directed by an adult leader, may perform activity beneficial to the community. In the Red Cross as an association, on the other hand, the range of activity of the ordinary member is narrowly restricted. His relationship is confined to paying his annual membership dues. The extent of the relationship is based upon a consensus to which all members agree. The member upon entering a group agrees to undertake certain obligations in return for enjoying certain privileges.

The intensity of a relationship refers to the degree to which the relationships actually conform to their character. The relationship of the patriarch to the patriarchal family is one involving great dominance. But, no doubt, the degree to which actual patriarchs fulfil this rôle varies widely. Many individuals occupying authoritative

positions actually are controlled themselves by some other person whose relationship is logically subordinate. Two factors enter into determining the intensity of a relationship: the capacity of the individual to fulfil the rôle; and his desire to fulfil it. The father is the nominal head of the family, but a more capable mother may actually perform the rôle in spite of institutional handicaps. Or again, the father may find his duties as head of the family irksome and by shirking it, force upon other members the rôle of guiding the family.

The part played by differences in personality and differences in status in explaining the character and intensity of relationships indicates that an understanding of these relationships within any group will make it necessary to examine the process by which members are chosen and the resulting composition of its membership. In a group based upon democratic principles, the character of equality in the relationship of member to member may be difficult to realize in high degree of intensity where there are wide differences in age and educational status. The process of selection has then to be examined. In so doing we must distinguish between the principle and practice of selection. The principle of selection of a college may be stated in terms of definite educational achievement. The practice of most groups tends, however, to deviate in some degree from the principle. Color lines, religious lines, etc., may be drawn *sub rosa*. Or certain extraneous circumstances may partly nullify the principle of selection, such as the expenses involved in a college education. An examination of the composition of the membership with reference to such factors as age, nationality, occupation, educational status, etc., is essential in order to indicate the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group. And this latter condition has a direct bearing upon the character and intensity of the relationships.

The Bond of Union

The third phase of a group analysis involves determining what holds the group together, what is its bond of union. Any analysis of this phase of a group will have to consider two aspects: the psychological or inner bond; and the objective or external bond. The inner bond has already been suggested in our definition as "one or more common interests." An understanding of what constitutes a common interest and its part in the formation of a group has been carefully elaborated by MacIver.⁴

The external bond includes the foci of centralization, those objective expressions of the common interests incorporated in creeds and codes, manifested in symbols, and strengthened by possessions. Thus, if we

⁴ R. M. MacIver, *Community*, Chap. II. A part of MacIver's discussion of common interests is quoted on p. 85.

may consider the dominant common interests of a Lutheran congregation as a belief in, and a desire to live in accordance with the God revealed in the Bible, we find certain foci of centralization which unify this congregation. The Apostles' Creed reminds the members of their common faith. The cross, as a symbol, reiterates the promise of immortality as the reward for doing God's will. The funds of the church and its plant are jointly the possession of all the members and constitute a secondary common interest.

Variation in Pattern

The activities, relationships, and the bond of union complete the description of the pattern of the group. It is necessary, however, to indicate how all this pattern expresses a type which represents the many concrete manifestations of the phenomenon. In other words, the variation of the pattern must be studied. If our study were of the American Legion as a type of group, it would be necessary to indicate to what extent the thousands of Legion posts conform to a pattern. The significant factors accounting for these variations need to be revealed.

Still further, the analysis as outlined thus far indicates the pattern of the group at one time. Groups are, however, subject to change. Consequently, it is necessary to study the group in terms of its genetic pattern. Such a pattern includes origin, change, and break-up. Change may be affected by forces from within the group itself, or by influences from without. From within, a change in membership or leadership may create change in the nature of the group. From without, change may result from a crisis in the community, such as the economic conditions since 1929, or from the establishment of other associations in competition with itself.

The Association and the Community

Every group as an association within a community is related to certain other associations. There are two general types of relationships of one association to another. The two associations may stand in a cooperative or conflictive relationship. The two most frequent forms of the cooperative relationship may be termed coordinate and supplementary. An illustration of the coordinate form would be the joint cooperation of a number of churches into an association for the purpose of establishing a settlement house. An example of the supplementary form would be the establishment of a loan fund for the use of needy students in the high school, by a fraternal organization. Conflictive relationships also manifest themselves most frequently in two forms which may be termed antagonistic and substitutive respectively. The antagonistic relationship constitutes direct and unequivocal opposition, such as between the Socialist and Republican parties, or th

Anti-Saloon League and associations against prohibition.⁵ The substitutive form of conflicting relationship involves a less direct and more subtle type of conflict. It may be illustrated by the encroachment of the school upon the family's control of the child, or the lessening of energy devoted to church work as a consequence of the formation of another cultural association. It is true, of course, that the relationship between two associations may be partly conflicting and partly cooperative, and still further that the relationship may change either as a whole, or only with reference to particular situations.

Interpretation

Sociological phenomena, because they are the experienced phenomena of conscious human beings, permit an interpretation of their meaning in terms of the sociologist's capacity as a human being to experience them. This, then, is the final task of a group study. Group life as a whole is explainable in terms of the biological and psychological nature of man and the environmental conditions or setting in which man is placed. Such a statement must not be construed as meaning that the process of group formation involves only a passive response of man to environmental stimuli. For human society is different from animal society in the sense that man's creative abilities, aided by his marvellous capacity for intercommunication, enables him to create new social forms, to make new choices from a number of possibilities in terms of his own values. But a specific type of group is explainable in terms of a particular set of conditions which exist in the community of which the group is an association. Such a group emerges as an association for the purpose of fulfilling certain common interests in a more definite and effective manner. Hence, the problem of explaining the presence of a group is one of selecting those conditions within the community which the group purports to meet, and of relating these interests created by these conditions to the activities and relationships manifested by the group.

QUESTIONS ASKED IN INTERVIEWS WITH MEMBERS

1. If you were interested in persuading a friend to join Rotary on the basis of your own experience, just what arguments would you make?
2. So far as you can recall, what was it that persuaded you to join Rotary? To what extent were your anticipations realized? What have you experienced that you did not anticipate? In what respect were your expectations not realized?

⁵ Conflicting relationships are, however, always within the framework of some larger fundamental community of interest between the conflicting groups as MacIver has pointed out in *Community*, pp. 121ff.

3. What other associations do you belong to? What is it you experience in Rotary that is not found in your other associations?
4. Can you think of some fellow Rotarians in whom you have noticed some change in character or personality since they came into the club? Without mentioning any names, describe the changes as you have noticed them (each one separately).
5. Consider who are your most intimate friends in this community. How many of them are fellow Rotarians? How many intimate friends has Rotary made for you?
6. If you were to give up membership in any of the groups to which you belong (Masons, Church, American Legion, Chamber of Commerce, Golf Club, etc.) in what order do you think you would prefer to give them up? Why?
7. It is to be assumed that aiding fellow members of a group to which one belongs would be an obligation and privilege of membership. Can you cite instances of such mutual aid rendered by members of your club to each other?
8. For the past year, would you indicate the extent of your *own* participation in the activities of the club, i.e., attending meetings, conferences, committee work, etc.
9. Would you indicate just how, in your opinion, the club is valuable to your community? Wherever possible indicate specific ways in which your club has served the community in the past year.
10. In what way does your being a member of Rotary affect your standing in the community or your personal affairs?

MASTER CLASSIFICATION CHART

Accountants

1. Charles Koenig
2.

Aeroplane Manufacturer

1.
2.

Art Goods

1.
2.

Architects

1. Louis B. Huesmann
2.

Automobiles

Sales

1. Alexander Kinghorn
2.

Supplies

1.
2.

Garage

1.
2.

Tire Manufacturer

1.
2.

Bakers	Cigar Retailer
Retail	1.
1.	2.
2.	Civil Engineer
Chemical Manufacturer	1.
1. Leo Trubek	2.
2.	Clergymen
Children's and Infants' Wear	Protestant
1.	1. Charles W. Popham
2.	2.
Chiropractor	Catholic
1.	1.
2.	2.
Cigar Manufacturer	Coal
1.	1. J. Henry Ciser
2.	2. Stewart C. Craig
<hr/>	
Gas Company	Physician
1.	1. Leroy W. Black
2.	2. Albert S. Hoheb "
Hardware	Specialists
1.	Nose and Throat
2.	1.
Hat Manufacturer	2.
1. William Haeussler	Pediatrist
2.	1.
Heating Appliances	2.
1. Harold Fellows	Piano
2.	1.
	2.

TABLE XIII
RATIO OF DENSITY OF SERVICE CLUBS BY STATES
(See p 119, note 2)

STATE	NO. CLUBS 1933	NO. INC. PLACES OVER 1,000, 1930	RATIO
Alabama	121	127	95
Arizona	49	23	213
Arkansas	113	107	106
California	436	233	187
Colorado	92	108	85
Connecticut	79	40	*

STATE	NO. CLUBS 1933	NO. INC. PLACES OVER 1,000, 1930	RATIO
Delaware	16	16	100
Florida	153	100	153
Georgia	123	115	107
Idaho	52	43	121
Illinois	370	403	92
Indiana	229	192	119
Iowa	208	204	102
Kansas	208	147	142
Kentucky	115	127	94
Louisiana	72	101	70
Maine	83	34	*
Maryland	50	47	106
Massachusetts	186	122	*
Michigan	186	225	83
Minnesota	119	166	72
Mississippi	105	104	101
Missouri	152	188	80
Montana	62	142	148
Nebraska	133	108	123
Nevada	15	10	150
New Hampshire	43	18	*
New Jersey	201	254	79
New Mexico	43	27	159
New York	295	342	86
North Carolina	128	159	81
North Dakota	74	41	180
Ohio	319	334	96
Oklahoma	213	167	128
Oregon	100	57	175
Pennsylvania	405	570	71
Rhode Island	16	19	*
South Carolina	80	94	85
South Dakota	79	39	203
Tennessee	79	97	81
Texas	463	349	133
Utah	63	55	115
Vermont	27	34	80
Virginia	111	87	128
Washington	117	80	146
West Virginia	121	101	120
Wisconsin	194	170	114
Wyoming	38	25	152

* Ratio for these New England states not calculated because many places over 1,000 are not incorporated.

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